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THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AND THE
EDUCATION OF SOUTHERN NEGROES
1862-1900

by

Henry Morrison Johnson

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty

of the Graduate School of Yale University

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A Digest of the Dissertation entitled:
"The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Education of Southern Negroes, 1862-1900."
by Henry M. Johnson.

Chapter I. Methodist interest in the American Negro began in the 18th century, when John Wesley made specific attempts to provide for the religious life of the race in the Georgia colony. Other Methodist leaders, such as Asbury, Coke, Strawbridge, and Garretson, followed Wesley's example in seeking to provide for the Negroes' religious needs. This interest took an organized form when the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church made provisions for religious work among the Negro race. The early Methodists also made provisions for the education of the Negro race, in order that they might be able to read the Bible, which as the Word of God, was the means unto spiritual salvation. The most extensive work of the Methodists among the Negroes, prior to the Civil War, was in the Southern states. The slave insurrections in the South halted the education of the Negro in the 1830's, but the Methodists continued a form of oral instruction in religious principles in the missions established in the plantation country. The interest in the welfare of the Negro caused the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844. Methodists in the North championed the abolition movement, and their efforts to extirpate slavery caused a breach between the two sections of Methodism. Methodists in the South held that slavery was an affair of the State, and contented themselves with making the institution of slavery as humane as possible. After the division of the Church, the Southern Methodists continued to establish missions among the slaves, while the Northern Methodists took steps to establish educational institutions for the Negro race. The slavery issue among the Methodists prepared them for whole-hearted participation in the Civil War.

Chapter II. The Plan of Separation, adopted by the General Conference of 1844 but later rejected by the Northern Conferences, set up a dividing line between the Methodist Episcopa Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, across which neither Church could organize societies. Both Churches violated the agreement, especially the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1863, the Northern Methodists secured a military order from Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, giving them possession of Southern Methodist churches in conquered territory. Receiving military aid in occupying Southern churches, Northern Methodists held a considerable number of edifices at the close of the war. The General Conference of the Northern Methodist Church sanctioned the occupation of the South in 1864, and its bishops were empowered to organize annual conferences. By 1876, conferences had been organized in practically every Southern state. The Reconstruction Period was marked by bitterness and hostility between the two Churches and contest for Southern territory. The annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South were composed largely of Negro member who benefitted from funds expended by the Northern Church in erecting churches and parsonages, and establishing educational institutions.

Chapter III. The chief contribution of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Southern Negroes was its educational system, established by its Freedmen's Aid Society during the years 1866-1900. Prior to 1866, Northern Methodists contributed generously to the educati al work of the undenominational Freedmen's Aid Commissions. The Methodist Negro education was characterized by a religious content, and an effort to convert the Negroes to the Christian religion. The Methodist teachers met with persecution and social ostracism at the beginning of their work in the South, but were later estimated as valued citizens.

Chapter IV. The Northern Methodists aided in the establishment of a common-school syste for the Negroes of the South. For several years following 1866, the work of this Church w almost wholly in the field of elementary education, but as the Southern states assumed the responsibility for public education, the Church turned to secondary and higher education. By the end of the century the Methodist Episcopal Church had established twenty-four educ tional institutions among the Southern Negroes.

Chapter V. The Northern Methodist Negro schools emphasized professional and vocational education, in addition to liberal arts training. Normal departments existed in practicall all schools, while ministerial and medical education was concentrated in a few institutions. Some form of industrial education was offered in all schools. More than 125,000 Negroes were instructed in Methodist schools by 1900; more than 20,000 Negro teachers were trained, and more than one-half of the Negro physicians in the United States had been prepared for their profession in the Methodist medical institutions.

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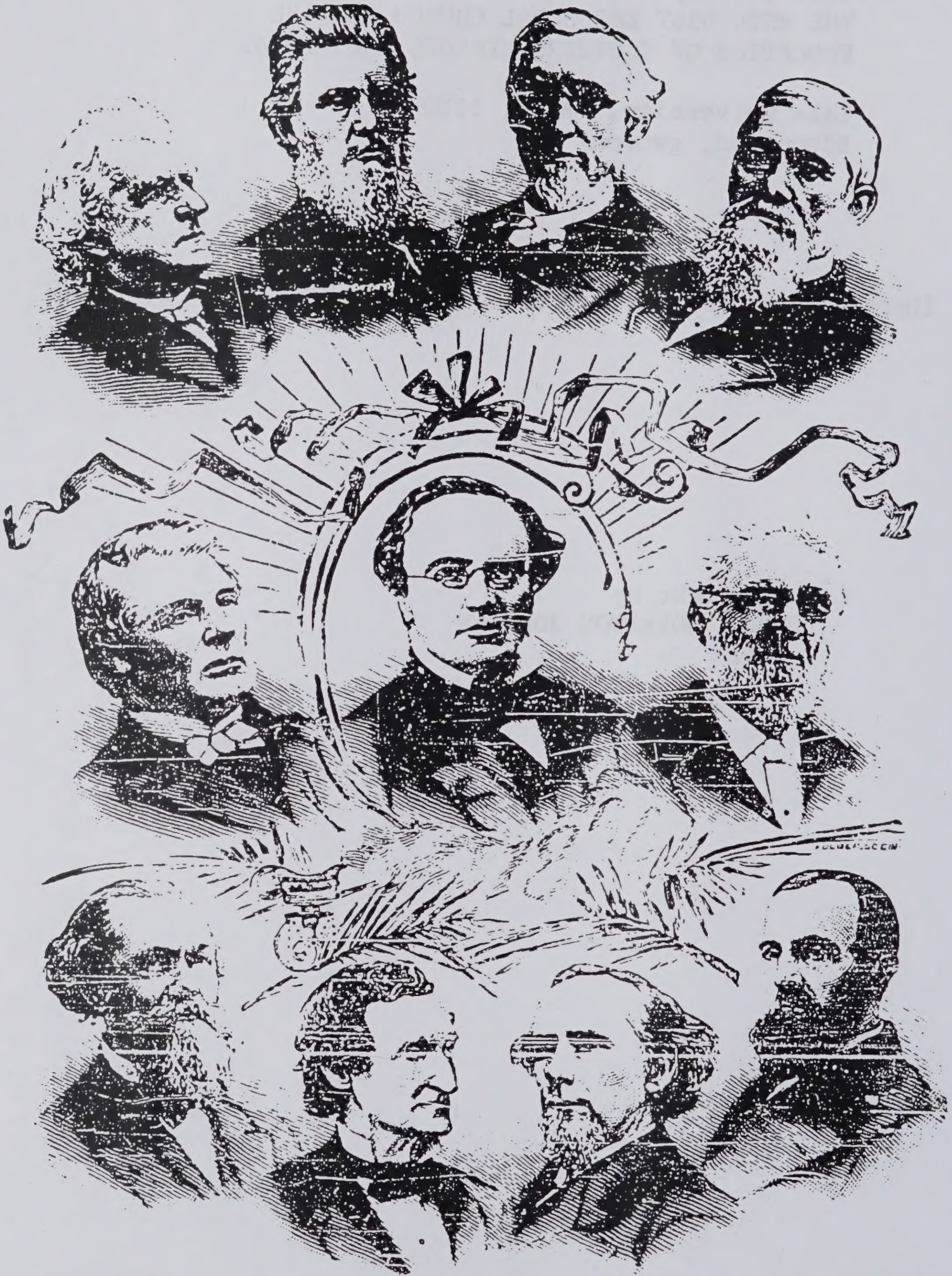

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THE MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION

THAT ORGANIZED THE FREEDMEN'S AID SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

CONTENTS

Page

FRONTPIECE

INTRODUCTION . . . . v - viii

CHAPTER

I METHODISM AND THE NEGRO PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR
- The Interest of Early Methodists in the Welfare of the Negro Race . . . . 1 - 9
- The Evangelization of the Slaves in the South . 10 - 15
- The Division of the Methodist Episcopal Church over the Slavery Issue . . . . 16 - 30
- The Effects of the Division of Methodism upon the Negro Race in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . . 30 - 44

II THE RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTHERN METHODISM
- The Beginnings of the Reorganization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South . . . 45 - 51
- Methodism and the Civil War . . . . 52 - 60
- Military Aid Enables the Methodist Episcopal Church to Occupy Southern Churches . . . . . 61 - 76
- Reasons for Northern Methodist Occupation of the South . . . . 77 - 94
- The Reconstruction of Southern Methodism . . . . 94 - 99
- The Revival of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, after the Civil War, and the unsuccessful Attempts to Reunite the two Churches . . . . 100 -117
- The Organization of Northern Methodist Annual Conferences in the South . . . . 118 -183
- The Political Activity of Northern Methodists in the Southern States . . . . 183 -200
- The Results of Northern Methodist Activity in the South . . . . 200 -202

III THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH
- The Status of the Negro at the Close of the Civil War . . . . 202 -207
- The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Freedmen's Aid Commissions During the Civil War 207 -228
- The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Freedmen's Bureau . . . . 228 -241

The Organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . . 241 - 260
Reasons for the Activities of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Negro Education . . . 260 - 300
The Development of the Northern Methodist Movement for the Education of the Southern Negroes . . . . 300 - 354

IV THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF COMMON SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES AMONG SOUTHERN NEGROES BY THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Establishment of Common Schools among the Negroes . . . . 355 - 362
The Evolution of Negro Common Schools into Higher Institutions of Learning . . . . . 362 - 364
The Origin and Development of Methodist Negro Institutions
  Central Tennessee College . . . . . . 365 - 377
  Central Alabama Academy 377- 380
  Rust University . . . . 380 - 390
  Centenary Biblical Institute . . . . 391 - 399
  Haven Normal School . . . . 399 - 403
  Richmond Normal School . . . . 403 - 406
  Rome Normal School . . . . 406 -
  Claflin University . . . . 407 - 417
  Clark University . . . . 417 - 430
  LaGrange Seminary . . . . 430 - 433
  Cookman Institute . . . . 433 - 437
  Bennett Seminary . . . . 437 - 445
  New Orleans University . . . . 445 - 460
  Wiley University . . . . 461 - 468
  Gilbert Academy . . . . 468 - 475
  Philander Smith College . . . . 476 - 481
  Meridian Academy . . . . 481 - 483
  Samuel Huston College . . . . 483 - 488
  West Tennessee Seminary . . . . 488 - 489
  Morristown Seminary . . . . 489 - 499
  Alexandria Academy . . . . 499 -
  George R. Smith College . . . . 499 - 502
  Key West Academy . . . . 502 - 504
  Summary . . . . 504 - 506
  Maps showing Negro Institutions in 1892 and 1939 . . . . pages 506- ff

V THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROFESSIONAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AMONG THE SOUTHERN NEGROES BY THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
  The Training of Negro Teachers . . . . 507 - 519
  The Preparation of Negro Ministers in the Various Schools and at Gammon Theological Seminary . . . . 519 - 541
  The Methodist Episcopal Church and Negro Medical Education at Meharry Medical College and New Orleans University . . . . 541 - 553
  The Methodist Episcopal Church and Negro Legal Education . . . . 553 - 554
  The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Industrial Education of the Negroes . . . . 554 - 578

CONCLUSION . . . . 579 - 589

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . 590 - 606

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to make a survey of the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the education and elevation of the Southern Negroes during one of the most dramatic periods in American history. This period, from 1862 to 1900, was one in which benevolent agencies of the North went into the South to provide the Negro with educational opportunities, the lack of which, in their estimation, accounted for the distressing conditions among the Freedmen after the Civil War.

Chief among these organizations was the Methodist Episcopal Church. Having had an interest in the welfare of the Negro since its organization in America, and having been shut out of the South by the separation of Methodism in 1844, the Methodist Episcopal Church seized upon the opportunities afforded by the invasion of the Federal forces into the South to organize the Church and its work in that part of the country.

It is impossible to treat the educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church apart from the general movement of that Church into the Southern states. Other Northern Churches worked among the Negroes of the South without setting up a Church organization in connection with it, but the Methodists went into the South and in many cases, organized the church and school in the same building. The clergymen were not only the ministers of the Negroes but their teachers as well.

The early Methodist minister-educators realized that they were initiating a movement that would eventually be considered as one of the great benevolences of the Church. One of them declared in 1867, the year following the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which was the chief agency among the Methodists for the promotion of Negro education: "Who is to write our Church history half a century hence? Will he not need facts, incidents illustrative of this age, and especially of this work that the Church is now doing in the South? History will declare that the greatest and most useful and fruitful operations of the Church in a thousand years was the establishment of herself, in spite of the devil, in the American Egypt. And some trusty pen ought to record the name of every school-house, church, stump, or shady grove where the heralds of free salvation first told the people of those regions that God had made of one blood all the nations of men; incidents illustrating the fiery persecutions . . . all these and many more . . . should be chronicled as material to be used by the future historian when he shall present the mighty structure of Zion to the admiration of the world." This the author has attempted to do.

First, a treatment is made of the interest of the Methodists in the welfare of the Negro prior to the Civil War, which set the stage for the events which followed. The controversy and argument among Methodists concerning the status of the Negro before the war, and the division of the Church over the issues of slavery, largely determined the course of the Methodist Episcopal Church during and after the tragic hostilities. Next, an examination is made of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Southern states, which was contemporaneous and connected with the educational movement among the Negroes. The treatment is carried as far as the end of the Reconstruction Period, for at this time the hostility and bitterness between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had largely ceased, and fraternal relations established between the sister denominations. An examination is then made of the educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church among the Negroes as a whole, especially its work in the undenominational Freedmen's Commissions from 1862 to 1866, and beginning at the latter date, the work of the Freedmen's Aid Society. The remaining part of the study is given to the origin and development of Negro institutions in the South, and the particular types of education which the Methodists established among the Negro race.

The investigation of the materials upon which the study is based necessitated extensive travel over a large part of the country. Owing to the fact that no systematic attempt had ever been made to record the history of the Methodist education movement among the Negroes of the South, it was necessary to piece together materials found in widely separated places in order to obtain a continuous record. In the main the materials were found in the offices of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Chicago, and in the libraries of such institutions as Yale University, Wesleyan University, University of Chicago, Duke University, Clark University, Claflin College, Morgan College, Morristown Normal and Industrial College, Philander Smith College, Wiley College, Bennett College, and Samuel Huston College. Many persons aided the author in his search for these materials. Among these should be mentioned Dr. Merrill J. Holmes, of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Professor Raymond P. Morris, Librarian of the Yale Divinity School, Dr. Paul N. Garber of Duke University, Dr. William Warren Sweet of the University of Chicago, and many others too numerous to mention. I am especially indebted to Dr. Paul N. Garber of Duke University, who first aroused my interest in the subject of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South, and to Dean Luther A. Weigle of the Yale Divinity School who has guided me throughout the study, and made many helpful suggestions concerning its development.

H. M. J.

Chapter I

METHODISM AND THE NEGRO PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR

Methodism, from its very beginning in England in 1739, has made the world its parish, and known no class or race in its beneficent work. It was a Christian movement, evangelistic in its spirit and missionary in its organization. It was a protest against every form of ecclesiasticism or social distinction which would debar any individual from the highest benefits of Christian living and activity. Mr. John Wesley and his coadjutors went forth with a heroic zeal to reach the lowliest and neediest of every class.

Methodism was brought to America while the movement was yet in its infancy, and the Negro was destined to have a large place in its growth and history. Perhaps the earliest recorded interest of the founder of the Methodist movement in the religious welfare of the Negro is to be found in his Journal for July 26, 1736. Mr. Wesley, in recording a visit made to Port Royal, South Carolina, makes the following statement: "I was glad to see several negroes at the church. When shall the sun of righteousness arise on these outcasts of men with healing in his wings?"[1] When Mr. Wesley came to Georgia in 1735 with a commission from the Governor to act as a missionary, he had the authority to preach to the white settlers, the Indians, and also to the Negroes, some of whom had already been brought to this continent as slaves.[2] During his comparatively short mission in

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[1] Wesley, John, Journal, (London, 1907), I. 38.
[2] McTyeire, Holland M., A History of Methodism, (Nashville, 1884), p. 73.

Georgia he made specific attempts to provide for the salvation of the colored people, laboring among them and preaching to them as he had opportunity. Although he was lacking in the zeal and the enthusiasm of his later ministry, Mr. Wesley earnestly sought to lead and direct the colonial Georgians into the channels of Christian life. During the homeward voyage to England, he found the opportunity to give instruction to a Negro youth, and before leaving the ship he wrote the following statement concerning his work in America: "All in Georgia have heard the word of God, and some have believed and begun to run well. A few steps have been taken toward publishing the glad tidings both to the African and American heathens."[3]

It was not until some years later that Mr. Wesley had the privilege of baptizing the first converted Negro Methodist. On November 29, 1758, he wrote in his diary: "I rode to Wandsworth, and baptized two Negroes belonging to Mr. Gilbert, a gentleman lately from Antigua. One of these is deeply convinced of sin; the other is rejoicing in God, her Savior, and is the first African Christian I have known. But shall not God, in his own time, have these heathen also for his inheritance?"[4]

Wesley's concern for the religious life and the welfare of the Negro race did not end with these early experiences, but continued until his death. He was a friend and inspirer of the leaders in the movement for the abolition of slavery, and his concern for the Negroes' physical freedom was closely related to his interest in their spiritual liberty.[5] One of the General Rules, prepared by Wesley in 1739 for the English Societies forbade "the buying or selling the bodies and souls of men, women, or children, with the intention to enslave them."[6] His pamphlet, "Thoughts Upon Slavery", published in 1774, enjoyed a wide circulation, and was a strong appeal for the abolition of the institution of slavery.[7]

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[3] Ibid., p. 96.
[4] Wesley, John, Journal, II, 432.
[5] Edwards, Maldwin, John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century, (New York, 1923), p. 121.

In 1766, a congregation of five members met in the house of Philip Embury in New York City and organized the first American Methodist society in that place. One of that number was "Aunt Betty", a Negro servant. She became an enthusiastic member of the Methodist group and gave her last coin to the building fund of the John Street Church in 1768.[8] On the subscription list of the New York society, which was circulated among its friends, were the names of two Negro slaves; "Rachel" and "Margaret". The former made a contribution of nine shillings and the latter seven. Another Negro connected with this Methodist society was Peter Williams, a slave. He and his wife Molly were the custodians of the Methodist parsonage, living in the building and ministering to the needs of many of the pioneer Methodist preachers, including Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury. He was purchased from his owner by the trustees of the society in 1783 for forty pounds, which he was allowed to refund by savings from his earnings as sexton. He remained a faithful member of the church until his death, and was regarded as an example of what the Gospel could do for a Negro.[9]

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[6] Matlack, L. C., The Anti-Slavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Episcopal Church, (New York, 1881), p. 58.

[7] Edwards, op. cit., p. 121.

[8] Hartzell, J. C., Methodism and the Negro in the United States, (Cincinnati, 1894), p. 2.

[9] Wakeley, J. B., Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early History of American Methodism, pp. 70, 227, as quoted in Williams, T. L., The Mission Work of the Methodist Church to the Slaves of the Southern Plantations from 1829 to 1870, p. 4.

When Robert Strawbridge, a native of County Leitrim, Ireland, came to America sometime between 1760 and 1766, and planted the first Methodist societies in Maryland,[10] a Negro called "Aunt Annie" was included in membership of the society at Sams Creek.[11] Other Negroes were active in the launching of the Methodist movement in the Southern colonies, among whom was Daniel Coker. He entered the ministry under the encouragement of Strawbridge, and later became a prominent figure in the establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. To Coker belongs the honor of being the first American Methodist missionary to Africa.

In 1769 Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor landed near Philadelphia as the first missionaries of the Wesleyan Conference to America. Less than a year later Pilmoor wrote to Mr. Wesley saying, "The number of blacks that attend the preaching affects me much."[12] During the years 1773 to 1776 a great revival of religion swept through a large part of Virginia and North Carolina, and the preachers who witnessed these revival meetings state that hundreds of Negroes were present for the services, and were deeply influenced by the preaching.[13] Prior to this time no special provisions had been made for the Negroes in the churches, but they were allowed to worship with the white members in the congregations. In other places where this practice was not followed, the blacks stood outside, listening to the preaching of the early Methodist pioneers.[14] The sense of obligation toward the religious welfare of the slaves is evidenced by the fact that the Methodist pioneer preachers made it a habit to preach to them whenever opportunity afforded.[15] Freeborn Garretson, one of the Methodist preachers of this time, often preached to the Negroes, and considered it a high privilege. He states that often while he preached: "Many of their sable faces were bedewed with tears, their withered hands of faith stretched out, and their precious souls made white in the blood of the Lamb."[16]

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[10] Sweet, William W., Methodism in American History, (New York, 1933), p. 51.
[11] Batten, J. M., "Early American Negro Methodists," Christian Advocate (Nashville), February 8, 1935, as quoted in Williams, T. L., op. cit., p. 4.
[12] Jones, Charles C., The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States, (Savannah, 1843), p. 39.
[13] Loc. cit.
[14] Ibid., p. 53.

Before the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, in 1784, a concern for the provision of religious instruction of the Negroes was manifested among the leaders of the movement. At a meeting of the Methodists at Baltimore in 1870, provisions were made for the appointment of assistant ministers to meet with the colored people for purposes of instruction.[17]

The first official pronouncement of the Methodist Episcopal Church looking toward the development of spiritual life among the Negroes came in the year 1787. The Minutes of the Conference for that year include the following statement:

> Question 17. What direction shall we give for the promotion of the spiritual welfare of the colored population? Answer. We conjure all our ministers and preachers by the love of God and the salvation of souls, and do require them by all the authority that is invested in us to leave nothing undone for the spiritual benefit

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[15] McTyeire, op. cit., pp. 301, 347, 543.
[16] Hartzell, Joseph C., "Methodism and the Negro in the United States", in the Journal of Negro History, VIII, (1923), 309.
[17] Tigert, John J., A Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism, p. 112; cited in Williams, op. cit., pp. 11, 12.

> and salvation of them within their respective circuits or districts, and for this purpose to embrace every opportunity of inquiring into the state of their souls, and to unite in society those who appear to have a real desire to flee from the wrath to come; to meet such a class, and to exercise the whole Methodist discipline among them.[18]

At the time this action was taken by the Conference, the Negro membership among the Methodists numbered 3,893, an increase of more than two thousand over the previous year, when for the first time the statistics separated the whites and blacks. This first report, in 1786, listed the white members as numbering 18,791 and the Negroes, 1,890.[19] The response of the Negroes to the appeal of the Methodist preachers is evidenced by the growth of their numbers during the latter part of the eighteenth century. In 1790 the number of Negro members was listed at 11,682.[20]

The pioneer Methodist, Bishop Francis Asbury, took an active interest in the welfare of the Negro. During his travels up and down the eastern seaboard, he preached to them in the churches, and also in the sheds on the plantations. Many of the planters whose concern for the religious life of the slaves had begun to manifest itself, urged Asbury and other preachers to perform this religious service. One of the most striking illustrations of the interest of preacher and slave-owner in the elevation of the Negro occurred at Perry Hall, in Maryland, the plantation home of Mr. Henry Gough.[21] A chapel had been erected on the plantation and regular services were provided for the Negroes as well as the whites. Asbury often held religious "love feasts" for the Negroes of this plantation. When opposition to the ministry of the early

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[18] Ibid., p. 218.
[19] Jones, op. cit., p. 41.
[20] Ibid., p. 42.
[21] McTyeire, op. cit., p. 301.

Methodist preachers arose, Asbury regarded it as opposition to the advancement of the Kingdom of God. He wrote in his Journal on June 2, 1776:

> After preaching at the Point, I met a class and then the black people, some of whose unhappy masters forbid their coming for religious instruction. How will the sons of oppression answer for their conduct, when the Great Proprietor of all shall call them to account![22]

A slave belonging to Mr. Gough eventually became one of Bishop Asbury's efficient and dependable assistants. His name was Harry Hozier, although he was more widely known as "Black Harry." After his conversion in a plantation service he soon became a religious leader among the whites as well as the blacks. Although he was illiterate, he had a great degree of intelligence and a natural talent for oratory. With the permission of his master, Black Harry accompanied Bishop Asbury on his itinerant journeys, frequently preaching to large gatherings. Bishop Asbury declared that to announce a service at which Black Harry would preach was one of the best methods of assuring a large congregation. When Dr. Thomas Coke arrived in America from England, he began an extensive preaching tour throughout the Methodist societies in preparation for the Christmas Conference, and at Asbury's suggestion, secured the services of Black Harry as an assistant. Dr. Coke wrote shortly after: "I am pleased with Black Harry's preaching."[23]

In 1786, Bishop Asbury started the first Sunday-school in America, in the house of David Crenshaw, in Maryland. Both Negro and white youth attended.[24] Four years afterward, the General Conference of the Methodist

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[22] Asbury, Francis, Journal, I, 141, June 2, 1776, as cited by Williams, op. cit., p. 14.
[23] McTyeire, op. cit., p. 246.
[24] Hartzell, Joseph C., Methodism and the Negro in the United States, (Cincinnati, 1894), p. 2.

Episcopal Church undertook the establishment of Sunday schools to teach the poor black and white children to read. The Conference recommended the schools, and the appointment of persons to teach gratis "all that will attend and have a capacity to learn."[25] Week-day schools for the same purpose were also introduced. However, the schools established for this purpose were never very successful, and in later years, the enterprise was abandoned by the Methodists, due to the bitter controversy over the abolition of slavery.

The greatest advance toward the religious elevation and evangelization of the Negroes came with the revival movement which began in the last decade of the Eighteenth century and spread over large parts of the country. Many slave-owners were converted and thereafter took a different attitude toward the evangelization of their slaves. The services of the Great Revival were attended by thousands of slaves and multitudes were converted.[26] Among the religious denominations participating in this great religious movement were the Methodists, and the popular institution known as the "Camp Meeting" as developed by the Methodists was especially attractive to the Negroes. Thousands came into the Church through this agency.[27] By 1800 the Negro membership of the Methodist Church had been increased to 13,452. In 1803 the total was reported at 22,453, and in 1815 the number had reached 43,187.[28] While Matthew Arnold was in

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[25] Ibid., p. 3; Washington, Booker T., The Story of the Negro, (New York, 1909), II, 121.

[26] McTyeire, op. cit., pp. 489-493.

[27] Harrison, W. P., The Gospel Among the Slaves, (Nashville, 1893), pp. 133-4.

[28] "Minutes of the Methodist Conferences," The Wesleyan Journal, I, January 14, 1826, as cited by Williams, op. cit., p. 17.

America he was told in Boston "that the great number of Methodists in this country was to be accounted for by the fact that so many of them were negroes, or words to that effect."[29]

At the close of the first half-century of American Methodism (1816), what is known as African Methodism had its beginning. Difficulties arose as to the seating of the Negro members in the churches and pastoral service, and in New York there was considerable dissatisfaction concerning proposed legislation on Church property. The outcome of these difficulties was a distinct and successful movement in favor of separate Negro Methodist denominations. At Wilmington, Delaware, a separate Negro denomination was organized, known as the Union American Methodist Church. However, it had very little success, having in 1926 a membership of only 10,169.[30] The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was organized out of the dissatisfied membership at New York.[31] At Philadelphia the African Methodist Episcopal Church had its beginning, largely under the leadership of Richard Allen, a local preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church. He had been ordained under the General Conference provision of 1800 giving the Bishops the authority of conferring such ordination on "African preachers."[32] The latter Church was probably the most successful of all the Negro Methodist Churches, but because of the laws and customs of the Southern States, it made very little advance in that section until after the Civil War. After the organization of Negro Churches there was a decrease in the Negro membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, due in part to the organization of the three Negro churches and also to the beginning of the abolition movement in the Methodist circles.[33]

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[29] Rev. J. W. Hamilton to Dr. John J. Tigert, April 29, 1898, unpublished letters of J. W. Hamilton, Methodist Book Concern, Chicago, (hereafter cited as Hamilton Papers).

[30] Religious Bodies, 1926, II, 1017.

[31] Hartzell, J. C., Methodism and the Negro in the United States, (Cincinnati, 1894), p. 3.

[32] McTyeire, op. cit., p. 564.

The earliest attempt to educate the Negro was motivated by the belief entertained among clergymen that education was necessary to provide for his moral and religious needs. White America, both slave-holding and non-slave-holding, was of the opinion that some moral discipline should be developed for the blacks. Their teachers, usually members of the clergy or the laity of the Christian churches, made their errand a religious one. It was their belief that only through a new character and a changed life could the Negroes be made law-abiding, decent, and industrious people. Thus their teachings were predicated upon the Bible.[34] The Methodists, confined at first largely to the Southern country, where most of the slaves were found, took up the problem of the education of the negro. In 1800, the chief incentive to their education in Georgia came from the rising Methodists and Baptists who, bringing a simple message to plain people, instilled into their minds as never before the idea that the Bible being the revelation of God, all men should be taught to read it.

By 1820 the interest of the Methodists in the religious instruction and conversion of the slaves had increased to a considerable degree. The leaders of the Church urged definite steps toward reaching the Negroes living on the large plantations in the South, and who were largely out of contact with the traveling ministers and church services. At the General

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[33] Andrew, James O., "Letters on Methodist History," Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review, (January 1830), XII, 22.

[34] Reid, Ira DeA., "The Church and Education for Negroes," in Bowen, Trevor, "Divine White Right," (New York, 1934), p. 242.

Conference of 1820 Bishop McKendree made an appeal to the body urging the importance of concrete action toward the improvement of the spiritual life of the Negroes.[35] Their membership in the Church was estimated at this time to number 38,753.[36]

The Negro population of the United States had increased so rapidly by 1820 that there were more than a million and a half slaves besides freemen.[37] Many of these were without the religious ministrations of the Christian Church, and few were receiving any religious instruction whatever.

In 1825 there appeared in the city of Charleston, South Carolina, a Methodist weekly periodical called "The Wesleyan Journal." It was edited by a group of ministers who advocated action toward better training for the Negroes of the South. The periodical influenced clergymen of all denominations in the South toward increased interest in this mission. A young minister of the Methodist Church, James O. Andrew, later to have an important part in the division of the Church, wrote an article for the "Wesleyan Journal," of July 1, 1826, challenging the Church to assume earnestly the responsibility for the religious training of the slaves. He writes:

> But we feel that the church generally is guilty of Neglect in reference to this important work. I ask what efforts have been made to spread the knowledge of the gospel among the slaves of the Southern plantations? Where is the body of Christians among us, which has made any decided and general effort to carry the gospel of peace to their cabins or to lead them from the darkening and sensualized vices which surround them, to the purity and glory of gospel grace? We hear it repeated again and again, that this is

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[35] Jones, op. cit., p. 63.
[36] Williams, op. cit., p. 25.
[37] Jones, op. cit., p. 62.

> an age of wonderful benevolence; we hear incessantly of mighty efforts for civilizing and evangelizing Hindoos, Burmese, Hottentots, and savages in different parts of the world; but what has been said or done toward converting the negroes of our own plantations? A work in which the same amount of funds which have been spent by American Christians in the East would have produced probably ten times the amount of good . . . The habitations of pagan darkness are before the eyes of every planter, without looking beyond his own neighborhood, or perhaps even beyond his own premises . . . But I am aware that the subject on which I write is not a very popular one; and that many objections are brought forward to justify the neglect which I condemn. Some doubt whether the negro be capable of such improvement mentally as will enable him to experience and practice the graces of the Holy Spirit. To this we are prepared to answer, not by reference to doubtful principles and abstruse speculations, but to plain facts. We have the best possible evidence that the negro in his most degraded situation can be brought to feel the powerful influence of the gospel principles, and can exhibit in his life the most conclusive evidence of the reality of his religious experience.[38]

This new emphasis upon the religious training of the Negroes produced remarkable results. Many planters asserted that there had been a marked improvement in the morals and conduct of their slaves. Nor were the Methodists alone in the new emphasis upon the elevation of the race. The Negro membership of the Baptist Church was large, and the leaders of that Church urged its ministers to carry forward their enlightenment. Many of the Protestant Episcopal clergymen were enthusiastic supporters of the movement, and labored with profit among the colored people. The Presbyterians were no less enthusiastic than the other denominations, and exerted a strong influence on the owners of slaves to assist in the provisions of religious instruction to their colored charges.

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[38] Andrew, James O., "Miscellanies," Wesleyan Journal, (July 1, 1826), I, No. 40, as cited by Williams, op. cit., pp. 28, 29.

The development of the new interest in Negro evangelization had its greatest rise in the state of South Carolina. Dr. William Capers (later Bishop) was perhaps the leading spirit in the movement in that Commonwealth to establish missions among the slaves. So generally did he arouse the people to the importance of this religious duty, that they not only allowed the ministers and missionaries access to their slaves, but many of them requested aid to be sent to their plantations. In the year 1828, Mr. Charles Pinckney, a large planter on the Santee River, having seen the beneficial results of the endeavors of a Methodist overseer of slaves in Georgia, approached Dr. Capers with a view to securing a Methodist exhorter to oversee his slaves. Dr. Capers proposed instead of this arrangement to apply to the Methodist Bishop and Missionary Board for a minister to be sent to Mr. Pinckney's plantation, whose time and efforts should be devoted exclusively to the religious instruction and welfare of his Negroes.[39]

Dr. Capers, along with Bishop Andrew, took hold in earnest of the missionary work among the slaves. Capers prepared catechisms for instruction and gave his own time and efforts to conciliating certain slave-owners to his mission and making plans for the enterprise. The movement was constantly expanded by new settlements and new plantations.[40] Dr. Capers' plan of enlightening the blacks did not include literary instruction. His aim was to adapt the teaching of the Christian religion to the understanding of persons having a "humble intellect and a limited range of knowledge by means of constant and patient reiteration."[41] The old Negroes, under Capers' plan, were to look to the preachers for the exposition of the Christian truths, and the young children were to be turned over to catechists who would drill the fundamentals into their plastic minds. Yet all the instructors and preachers to the Negroes were required to inculcate the faithful performance of the duty of obedience to their masters as the Southerners found it stated in the Bible. Anyone who failed to interpret the Scriptures in this manner should not be engaged to teach the negroes. Dr. Capers was certain "that such a one could not then be found among the preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church of South Carolina."[42]

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[39] Burgess, J. M., Chronicles of St. Mark's Parish, South Carolina, 1731-1885, (Columbia, 1888), pp. 82, 83.
[40] Hyde, A. B., The Story of Methdism, (Greenfield, Mass. 1887), p. 210.

The results of all this was most gratifying. Through the efforts of Dr. Capers and ministers of other denominations, "religion worked a reform in morals wherever the missionary came with his preaching. his Sunday-schools and his personal exhortations. Polygamy and the other vices of barbarism, with theft, and other vices of civilization, disappeared, and peace, order and honesty took their place."[43] Preachers were trained among the Negroes who "could read well and preach well."[44] The lower part of South Carolina was reported to be "covered over by" the missions.[45] At the close of the year 1832 the Methodists of South

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[41] Wightman, W. W., The Life of William Capers, (Nashville, 1858), p. 298.
[42] Woodson, Carter G., The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, (New York, 1915), p. 190.
[43] Hyde, op. cit., p. 210.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Chreitzberg, A. M., Early Methodism in the Carolinas, (Nashville, 1897), p. 255.

Carolina reported that through the agency of the missions the Church had received 1,395 members and 490 children were under catechetical instruction.[46]

Until the 1830's there had been little opposition to the education of the Negroe, but several slave insurrections in the Southern states caused the people of that region to look upon it with suspicion. When it became evident that abolition literature in possession of the Negroes caused dissatisfaction among them, and prompted them to take drastic measures to secure their liberty, laws were passed in most Southern states forbidding the instruction of slaves in any form. After these laws had been passed, American slavery extended to the mind as well as to the body, and the education of the blacks was regarded as inconsistent with the institution of slavery. The situation in many sections of the South was similar to that portrayed by Berry in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1832. He said:

> We have as far as possible closed every avenue by which light may enter their (the slaves') minds. If we could extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work would be completed; they would then be on a level with the beasts of the field and we should be safe! I am not certain that we would not do it, if we could find out the process, and that on the plea of necessity.[47]

Following the reaction against Negro education, the Church in the South ceased to be the means by which the Negroes could be enlightened. The Sabbath-schools, in which many of them had been taught to read and write, by 1834 had restricted their work to oral instruction.[48] There followed a period of "religion without letters," in which the

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[46] Williams, op. cit., p. 51.
[47] Woodson, op. cit., pp. 170-171.
[48] Jones, C. C., The Religious Instruction of Negroes, (A Sermon delivered before the Association of the Planters in Liberty and McIntosh Counties, Georgia. (Princeton, N. J., 1832), p. 175, as cited by Woodson. op. cit., pp. 184-185.

Negroes were catechized in the elementary Christian truths. Although some ministers ignored the laws prohibiting the instruction of Negroes, education among them was at its lowest point from this time until the Civil War.

It is scarcely possible to survey the work of the Methodist Church among the Negroes prior to the Civil War without some mention of the attitude of the Church on the subject of slavery. It is not our purpose to enter into that controversy in detail, however, we should take into consideration the events which had a direct bearing upon the evangelization and education of the Negro prior to the Civil War.

The Conference which met in the city of Baltimore in 1784 and organized the Methodist Episcopal Church was marked by its stand on the subject of slavery. The General Rules, which Mr. Wesley prepared for the English societies, and which contained a rule forbidding the buying or selling of slaves, was adopted by the Conference. The body went beyond the adoption of this rule and took steps to extirpate the whole system of slavery.[49] Question Forty-two of the Minutes reads, "What methods can we take to extirpate slavery?"[50] This question was answered by a general condemnation of the whole system of slavery, and was followed by six special rules designed to destroy slavery in the Methodist Church. The summary of these rules is as follows:

> (1) Every slave-holding member, within twelve months is required to execute a deed of manumission, gradually giving his slaves their freedom. (2) All infants who were born after these rules went into force were to have immediate freedom. (3) Members who chose not to

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[49] Sweet, William W., The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War, (Cincinnati, 1912), p. 15.

[50] Discipline, 1784, pp. 14, 15, as cited by Sweet, Loc. cit.

> comply were allowed to withdraw within twelve months. (4) The Sacrament of the Lord's supper was to be denied to all such thenceforward. (5) No slave-holders were to be admitted thereafter to Church membership. (6) Any member who bought, sold, or gave slaves away, except on purpose to free them, were immediately to be expelled.[51]

The rules adopted in the Conference of 1784 remained in force for a number of years and were largely complied with. For a few years, it seems, the Methodist ministers preached boldly against slaveholding, and a number of slaves were given their freedom by the members of the Methodist societies.[52]

This firm stand of the Methodists, however, was beginning to lose ground among the members in the South, and the Church began to retreat from its well-defined position of 1784.[53] When the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 changed the economic life of the Southern states, the Church ceased to maintain its stand against slavery on moral grounds.[54] The Discipline of 1786 forbade the buying or selling of slaves, but it said nothing against slaveholding. In 1792 the Church receded still further by omitting the law of 1786, and retained only the prohibition against slavery in the General Rules.[55]

The early Methodist leaders, who had been bold in denouncing slavery as an evil, found that if Methodism was to succeed in the South it must not be openly against it in that section. When Thomas Coke found that his opposition and that of his Church to slavery was causing people to turn from the Methodist Church, he altered his sermons on the subject to suit the ears of his hearers. While in Virginia, he wrote in his Journal: "Here I bore a public testimony against slavery, and have found out a method of delivering it without causing a tumult, and that is by first addressing the Negroes in a very pathetic manner on the Duties of Servants to Masters; and then the Whites will receive quietly what I have to say to them."[56] Bishop Asbury, who bitterly opposed the institution of slavery, had quite the same experience. To the slaves he insisted that they should "obey their masters with fear and trembling as unto Christ"; then the masters would listen intently to the message for them.[57] Even Peter Cartwright, one of the boldest of Methodist preachers, employed the same method. He said: "Let the owners see and know that your whole mission is the salvation of the slave as well as their own, and that you have not established an underground railroad, and that it is not your mission to abduct the slaves. In this way more can be done for the final extirpation of American slavery than all others put together, for these ultraists breathe nothing but death and slaughter."[58] The attempt to appease the Southern objectors went so far that the Church authorized an edition of the Discipline for use in the Southern states "with the section and rule on slavery left out."

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[51] Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

[52] Sweet, W. W., The M. E. Church and the Civil War, p. 17.

[53] Sweet, loc. cit.

[54] Luccock, Halford E., and Hutchinson, Paul, The Story of Methodism (New York, 1926), pp. 340 ff.

[55] Matlack, L. C., The Anti-Slavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1881), p. 62.

In the early 1800's the Church attempted to strengthen its position against slavery but with very little success. The General Conference of 1800 authorized an "Address to all their brethren and friends in the

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[56] Southall, E. P., "The Attitude of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, toward the Negro from 1844 to 1870," in the Journal of Negro History, XVI (1931), pp. 363-4.
[57] Ibid., p. 364.
[58] Ibid.

United States," condemning slavery, which was signed by Bishops Coke, Asbury, and Whatcoat and also three noted ministers: Ezekiel Cooper, William McKendree, and Jesse Lee. The address called the institution of slavery "the great National evil" and stated "We are therefore determined at last to raise up all our influence in order to hasten to the utmost in our power the universal extirpation of this crying sin."[59] In 1804 the question regarding the extirpation of slavery was changed from "What regulations shall be made for the extirpation of the crying evil of American slavery?" to "What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of slavery?" At the Conference of 1804 all members of the Church in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee were exempted from all rules regarding slavery.[60] The Discipline of 1804 contains this statement: "Let your preachers from time to time .... admonish and exhort all slaves to render due respect and obedience to the commands and interests of their respective members."[61] By 1809 the Church said nothing about the owning of slaves on the part of its members and only prohibited the election of a slaveholder to an official position in the States where emancipation was legally possible.[62]

In the next few years a few minor changes were made in the Discipline regarding slavery in the Church, and in 1824 the section on slaveholding was amended for the last time until 1860.[63] A summary of the slavery section in the Discipline for that year (1824) is as follows:

> (1) The Church is convinced of the great evil of slavery, and slave-holders are prohibited from holding official positions in the Church, where the State laws will admit

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[59] Matlack, op. cit., p. 65; Sweet, W. W., The M. E. Church and the Civil War, p. 18.

[60] Sweet, op. cit., p. 18.

[61] Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1804, pp. 215, 216.

[62] Farish, H. D., The Circuit Rider Dismounts, (Richmond, 1938), p. 5.

[63] Matlack, op. cit., p. 71.

> emancipation. (2) A minister who becomes a slave-holder must either cease to be a minister or emancipate his slaves. (3) The preachers are to see that the slaves are given religious instruction. (4) Colored preachers and official members are to have the same rights as others in the District and Quarterly Conferences. (5) Annual Conferences are given the privilege of employing colored preachers.[64]

From 1824 to 1860 nothing was stated in the Discipline regarding the slaveholding by individual members, nor was it a hindrance to official position in the Church in States where the law prohibited emancipation.[65]

The rise of the Abolition Movement, made itself felt in the Methodist Church, and a number of anti-slavery societies were formed in New England Conferences.[66] The agitation of the subject seems to have been confined largely to this section of the country, and many of the leading men in the Church came out openly against slavery.[67] The Bishops of the Church were anxious to preserve peace among the members. In September, 1835, Bishops Hedding and Emory addressed a letter to the New England and New Hampshire Conferences, stating that nowhere else in the Methodist Conferences had they found such excitement, and that they regarded the abolition movement as a political game into which the ministers should not be drawn. They urged the members of these New England Conferences to refrain from agitating the subject "from the pulpit or otherwise."[68]

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[64] Sweet, W. W., The M. E. Church and the Civil War, p. 19; Matlack, op. cit., pp. 71, 72.

[65] Matlack, op. cit., pp. 71 ff.

[66] Buckley, James M., A History of Methodism in the United States American Church History Series, (New York, 1898), V, pp. 20, 21; Farish, op. cit. p. 6; Sweet, W. W., The M. E. Church and the Civil War, p. 19.

[67] Sweet, W. W., The M. E. Church and the Civil War, p. 20.

[68] Ibid.

They pointed out the pernicious results already achieved and the disastrous consequences that must follow both in the Church and State if the conflict went on. The Bishops even urged the members of the Conferences to refuse the use of their pulpits to those preachers who persisted in leaving their own charges to agitate and divide other societies.[69]

Anxious to preserve the unity of Methodism and peace in the Connection, the bishops and other general officers were greatly concerned over the movement in the Church. At the General Conference held at Cincinnati in 1836, many petitions were received asking for a stricter stand on the whole slavery question similar to that in the early Disciplines. The Conference replied to these petitions by adopting a report condemning "modern abolitionism." It declared that it would be "inexpedient to make any change in our book of Discipline respecting slavery," and that further agitation of the subject would be deemed "improper" in the General Conference "at present."[70] The Conference also censured two New England delegates for attending a meeting of a Cincinnati anti-slavery society, and the resolution adopted for this purpose declared that the General Conference was "decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave."[71] One Southern delegate wanted the names of the two members included in the resolution, in order that they might "be brought forth in all the length and breadth of their damning iniquity."[72] After 1837 every candidate applying for admission to the Philadelphia Conference was asked, "Are you an abolitionist?" and if he replied in the affirmative, he was not allowed admission.[73]

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[69] The Christian Advocate and Journal (New York), September 25, 1835.

[70] Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1836, p. 475.

[71] Ibid., p. 447

[72] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History (New York, 1933), p. 238.

Despite the efforts of the General Conferences to bring pressure on the anti-slavery element in the Church, Methodists in the North who favored abolition continued their support of the movement, and declared that the Church must use its influence toward the extirpation of slavery. Behind this movement was a group of members who stood for the broad humanitarian mission of the Church. They admitted that the "scope of the Church and its authority was fixed by the Bible," yet a less strict interpretation of it was permitted. The adherents of this view advocated a definition of moral evil or sin in the Scriptures by implication.[74] Thus the agitation against the institution of slavery continued. At a meeting of the Meadville district of the Erie conference, (1838), Duxbury, Mass., one member offered a set of resolutions declaring that "while God gives us the exercise of our reason and the use of our tongues, we will continue to plead for the slave and will not be silenced by civil or ecclesiastical bodies." When the presiding elder refused to put the resolutions to a vote, one of the members of the conference took his place, and the resolutions were passed unanimously.[75]

Among Methodists in the Southern states another theory concerning the scope of the activities of the Church had been gradually developing. Its adherents held that these activities were distinctly defined by the Scriptures; that the Church and the secular world were separate spheres, and any merging of the two in a program of action should be condemned.

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73 Ibid., p. 258.
74 Farish, op. cit., p. 4.
75 Norwood, John N., The Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844, (Alfred, New York, 1923), pp. 37, 38.

To this group of Methodists slavery, being recognized by the Scriptures as an institution subject to temporal powers, was a subject with which the Church had nothing to do save to enforce the moral obligations growing out of the relationship between master and slave. Therefore, the existence of slavery as an institution was a political question, hence one with which the Church should not meddle.[76] The advocates of this point of view naturally resisted the rising abolition sentiment in the North. Perhaps the best example of this point of view was given by Dr. Henry B. Bascom (later Bishop) in writing of the Church and the Negro and in defense of the Southern Methodists. He wrote:

> Were it in our power, without interfering with the rights of others, we would release them from civil bondage; but as it is not, and Christianity directs us not to oppose ourselves to civil authority, but instead, to submit to it, as 'the ordinance of God', we are content to do what we are allowed to do, to alleviate and render tolerable, a condition resulting from no acts of ours, but having its origin in the organic arrangements of civil society...."[77]

Bishop Capers, the "apostle to the slaves," regarded the subject of abolition as one belonging to the State, and denounced the principles of the abolitionists as being rooted in a false philosophy. He endeavored to prove that the relation of slave and master was authorized by the Scriptures. He was of the opinion, however, that slavery might give rise to certain abuses which were immoralities to be prevented or punished by proper means, both by the Church and the civil authorities.[78] In 1837 the Georgia Annual Conference resolved that "*Whereas*, There is a clause in the Discipline of our Church which states that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery; and *whereas*, the said clause has been perverted by some, and used in such a manner as to produce the impression that the Methodist Episcopal Church believed slavery to be a moral evil; therefore, *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Georgia Annual Conference that slavery as it exists in the United States is not a moral evil; *Resolved*, 2, That we view slavery as a civil and domestic institution, and one with which, as ministers of Christ, we can have nothing to do, further than to ameliorate the condition of the slave, by endeavoring to impart to him and his master the benign influence of Christ, and aiding both on their way to heaven."[79] In 1838 the South Carolina Conference passed a similar resolution.[80]

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[76] Farish, op. cit., p. 4.

[77] Bascom, H. B., Methodism and Slavery: with Other Matters in Controversy between the North and the South; being a Review of the Manifesto of the Majority, in Reply to the Protest of the Minority, of the Late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the Case of Bishop Andrew (Frankfort, Ky., 1845), p. 78.

[78] Wightman, op. cit., p. 296.

The harsh treatment of the abolitionists by the Church, instead of allaying agitation, tended to increase it. Unable to discuss the question and introduce their resolutions in their Conferences, abolitionists started a number of anti-slavery publications among them being *The Wesleyan Journal*, published in Hallowell, Maine; *The American Wesleyan Observer*, edited by Orange Scott and J. Hall, of Lowell, Massachusetts; and the *Zion's Watchman*, edited LeRoy Sunderland, and published in New York.[81] These publications spread the "abolition gospel" far and wide.[82] During these years several Methodist anti-slavery conventions were held. One convention was held in the Methodist Church of Cazenovia, New York. Others were held at Utica, New York, and at Lynn and Lowell, Massachusetts.[83]

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[79] Matlack, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104; Sweet, W. W., *The M. E. Church and the Civil War*, p. 21; Farish, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[80] Sweet, W. W., *The M. E. Church and the Civil War*, p. 21.

[81] Sweet, W. W., *Methodism in American History*, p. 239; Matlack, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Norwood, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[82] Sweet, *loc. cit.*

[83] Matlack, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 127.

When the General Conference of 1840 failed to enact legislation in favor of the abolitionists, and their persecution continue within the Church, a number of the most uncompromising withdrew from the Connection and organized the Wesleyan Methodist Church.[84] Non-slaveholding was made a condition of membership in the new Church, and within eighteen months after its organization the membership was reported as fifteen thousand.[85] Despite the withdrawal of the extreme abolitionists, anti-slavery agitation and sentiment increased in the Northern part of the Church from 1840 to 1844. This was due in large measure to political agitation on the subject of slavery. One such instance contributed to a reaction among the Methodist in the North, and led the moderate anti-slavery members to co-operate more fully with the abolitionists remaining within the church. In 1842 the Slaveholder's Convention in Maryland recommended to the legislature that it adopt legislation to force the free negroes from the State or reduce them to slavery. As many of the free negroes of the State were members of the Methodist Church, this action angered the Methodists of the North, and served to increase the anti-slavery feeling.[86]

By 1844 it was evident that the sentiment in both the North and the South had crystallized with regard to the subject of slavery, and each section felt compelled to maintain its own attitude on the question. At the General Conference of 1844 the question of slavery came up early in the proceedings and occupied the center of the stage throughout the session. In the Episcopal Address, read by Bishop Soule, no mention was made concerning the subject of slavery, but reference was made to the missions among the colored people, especially the efforts toward their evangelization. A deliberate attempt was made by the Bishops to divert the mind of the Conference from the subject of slavery, but without success, and a committee was appointed to deal with the dangerous question.[87]

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[84] Sweet, W. W., *The M. E. Church and the Civil War*, p. 22; Buckley, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-404; Norwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51; Farish, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[85] Sweet, W. W. *The M. E. Church and the Civil War*, p. 22.

[86] Buckley, *op. cit.*, pp. 404-405; Norwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56; Farish, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

The great discussion at the General Conference of 1844 in regard to slavery came up in connection with the Report of the Committee on Episcopacy. During the preceding quadrennium Bishop James O. Andrew, of Georgia, had, through inheritance, bequest, and marriage, become in a technical sense, a slaveholder.[88] When Bishop Andrew reached the city of Baltimore on his way to the Conference, the news reached him that his connection with slavery was causing considerable discussion and excitement in the church, and he was determined to resign, thinking that this action would prevent a dangerous situation from arising. His Southern brethren, however, dissuaded him from this intention and assured him that his resignation would result in a withdrawal of the Southern churches.[89]

The committee on episcopacy investigated the affairs of Bishop Andrew, and when the matter was brought before the Conference, a resolution was presented requesting him to desist from the exercise of his episcopal duties until he had freed himself from this connection with

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87 Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, p. 245.
88 Buckley, op. cit., p. 412; McTyeire, op. cit., p. 623. A thorough statement of the case is found in the Journal of the General Conference, 1844, p. 73.
89 Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, p. 246.

slavery. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 110 to 68.[90] This action was followed by a debate which lasted for eleven days, and in the course of the heated discussion the real question at issue--that of the attitude of the Church toward slavery--was lost sight of, while the legal, constitutional, and practical aspects of the issue occupied the foreground. The long days of debate only served to increase the divergence between the North and South with regard to the scope and function of the Church.[91]

The Northern members of the Conference urged that the Church should interpret the _Discipline_ and Scripture in such a manner as to make slavery a moral evil and demand action against it. This point of view was well expressed by the Reverend James B. Finley of Ohio, when he said:

> "It has been reiterated again and again that the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church is conservative toward slavery. This assumption I most positively deny. Now, sir, how a grave body of ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church can hold that this great moral evil can be justified and sanctioned by the Methodist Episcopal Church, is a paradox to me. A man who can say it is right for him to hold his fellow-being in bondage, and buy and sell him at pleasure, and _drive, whip, and half starve him,_ and that this is connived by the Methodist Church, I think must have a queer view of the Methodist Church and her Discipline. I now say in my place, before God, that whenever the Methodist Episcopal Church shall sanction this doctrine, as much as I love her, I will leave it and seek another community."[92]

On the other hand, the Southern delegates to the Conference argued that the Church should avoid any action which would tend to disrupt its organization. Dr. Lovick Pierce of Georgia declared that the intermeddling of the Church with slavery had done the Church great harm in the South.[93] Dr. William A. Smith of Virginia stated that Methodists in the North were placing the Southern Methodists "in direct connection with an abolition Church--a fanaticism, at once a grief to the pious, and the scorn of the wicked, among whom we live,"[94] and warned the Conference that:

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[90] _Journal of the General Conference_, 1844, p. 84.
[91] Farish, _op. cit._, p. 9.
[92] _Journal of the General Conference_, 1844, p. 151.

> By years of departing from your plain duties which appertain to you as a council of Christian ministers, to discuss and settle the great and perplexing questions of American slavery--*a question which belongs exclusively to our national councils, and one which statesmen of great distinction touch with a trembling hand*--you are rendering yourselves odious to the political union . . . No, sir, any interference whatever, on your part, with this question, is insufferable! . . . the cause of Christ --the cause of human salvation--demand that we concentrate our influence upon the one great object of spreading Scriptural holiness over these lands--*the only legitimate object of ecclesiastical legislation.*[95]

Bishop Joshua Soule, a native of Maine, threw his lot with that of the Southern delegates and elaborated further on the position taken by them. He declared that "we are fully persuaded that, as a body of Christian ministers, we shall accomplish the greatest good by directing our individual and united efforts, in the spirit of the first teachers of Christianity to bring both master and servant under the influence of that Gospel which teaches the duty of every relation."[96]

Upon the adoption of the resolution requesting Bishop Andrew to desist from the performance of his episcopal duties, the Southern delegates drew up a protest against the proceeding, and declared that

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[93] *Ibid.*, p. 92; Buckley, *op. cit.*, p. 417; Farish, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[94] *Journal of the General Conference*, 1844, pp. 143-144; Buckley, *op. cit.*, p. 422.
[95] *Journal of the General Conference*, 1844, p. 144.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

"the continued agitation of the subject of slavery and abolition in a portion of the Church; the frequent action on that subject in the General Conference; and especially the extra judicial proceeding against Bishop Andrew . . . must produce a state of things in the South which renders a continuance of the jurisdiction of this General Conference inconsistent with the success of the ministry in the slave holding states."[97]

The bishops attempted to bring about a compromise on the question, suggesting that the entire matter be postponed for four years and that during this interval Bishop Andrew might be able to free himself from his embarrassment. This suggestion aroused the abolitionists, and they succeeded in persuading Bishop Hedding to withdraw his name from the bishops' report. Since the report was no longer unanimous, their suggestion was laid on the table. When the vote was taken on the suspension of Bishop Andrew, it carried 111 ayes to 60 nays. Thus the Church had come "to a parting of the ways."[98]

The dilemma confronting the Church was met by the appointment of a committee "to devise, if possible, a constitutional plan for a mutual and friendly division of the church," if the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States found it necessary to unite in a distinct ecclesiastical connection.[99] The Plan of Separation, drawn up by the committee of nine, was submitted to the Conference and it was adopted by an overwhelming vote. The Plan of Separation designated a method of establishing a boundary between the two branches of Methodism should the separation take place, allowed the ministers to choose without censure the church to which they would adhere, recommended to the annual conferences a modification of the constitutional restriction to permit a division of the Book Concern assets and other property.[100] The Plan provided further that all property which had belonged to the undivided Church and which now lay within the bounds of the Southern organization should be forever free "from any claim set up on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church."[101] The day following the adjournment of the Conference the Southern delegates met in New York and agreed to call a convention of the Southern churches to meet in Louisville, Kentucky, on May 1, 1845. The Southern Conferences approved of the convention and each Conference appointed delegates. At this convention the Southern delegates decided by a vote of 94 to 3 to separate from the Church, and set up the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[102]

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[97] Ibid., pp. 200-212.

[98] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, p. 248.

[99] Journal of the General Conference, 1844, pp. 217-219; Sweet, W. W. Methodism in American History, p. 249; Farish, op. cit., p. 12.

The first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, convened at Petersburg, Virginia, in May, 1846. The new church adopted the old Discipline with only a few verbal changes, and defeated an attempt to change the section on slavery.[103] Many of the Southern churchmen disapproved of slavery, however they accepted it as necessary and unavoidable for the Southern States.

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[100] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, pp. 249-250.

[101] Journal of the General Conference, 1844, pp. 217-219.

[102] Sweet, W. M., The M. E. Church and the Civil War, p. 26; Weigle, Luther A., American Idealism, (New Haven, 1928), p. 166.

[103] Sweet, W. W. Methodism in American History, p. 253.

During the General Conference of 1846 the Southern Church rejected an attempt to eleminate the rule on slavery from the Discipline,[104] and again in the General Conference of 1850. In 1854 the effort failed by only seven votes of the required majority of two-thirds. However, the sentiment against the old rule on slavery was so strong that the Conference was forced to interpret the rule so as to apply to foreign slave trade only.[105] In 1858 the opponents of the General Rule against slavery were successful, and after a running debate over the wording of the resolution, finally adopted it by a vote of 140 to 8. The resolution as adopted is as follows:

> Whereas: The Rule in the General Rule of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, forbidding the "buying and selling of men, women, and children with an intention to enslave them" is ambiguous in its phraseology, and liable to be construed as antagonistic to the institution of slavery, in regards to which the Church has no right to meddle, except as enforcing the duties of masters and servants as set forth in the Holy Scriptures, therefore, the rule is declared expunged from the General Rules of the Church.[106]

It is interesting to note that an attempt to have the rule of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church changed so as to make non-slaveholding a condition of membership was defeated in the General Conference of that Church in 1856. Another attempt to change the rule in 1860 resulted in the addition of a new rule that was merely advisory and admonitory, stating that "we affectionately admonish all our preachers and people to keep themselves pure from this great evil, and to seek its extirpation by all lawful and Christian means."[107]

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[104] Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1846, p. 74.
[105] Ibid., 1854, p. 329.
[106] Ibid., 1858, p. 459.
[107] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1860, p. 260.

It was not until 1864 that the Northern Church made non-slaveholding a test of membership.

When the Northern delegates to the General Conference of 1844 returned to their homes they met an overwhelming surge of disapproval of what had been done towards the separation of the Church. Some of the Conferences in the North declared the Plan null and void. Strong opposition developed against the division of the Book Concern properties, and the majority of the Northern Conferences defeated the recommendation of the General Conference, in spite of the fact that the Southern Conference had unanimously approved it.[108] As a result, the Northern Church refused to divide the property as had been agreed upon, and the General Conference of 1848 repudiated the Plan of Separation, declaring it null and void. The Northern Church soon indicated determination to return to the South, and establish itself once more in that territory. At the General Conference of 1848, Dr. Lovick Pierce, fraternal delegate of the Southern Church, presented his credentials, but the Conference declared that, as there were "serious questions and difficulties between the two bodies," it did not "consider it proper, at present, to enter into fraternal relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South."[109] In 1849 the Southern Church, attempting to vindicate its claims, entered suit in the United States Circuit Courts for New York and for Ohio, for a division of property. The claim of the Southern Church was upheld in the New York Court,[110] but the case in Ohio went adversely to it, and this resulted in appealing the case to the United States Supreme Court. That body reversed the decision of the Ohio Court, and held that the Plan of Separation was valid in all of its provisions.[111]

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[108] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, pp. 255-256.
[109] Ibid., pp. 256-257.
[110] Sutton, R., Methodist Property Case, Report of the Suit of Henry B. Bascom, and others, vs. George Lane, and others, Heard before the Honorable Judges Nelson and Betts, in the Circuit Court of the United for the Southern District of New York, May 17-29, 1851.

From the time of the division of the Church in 1844 to the beginning of the Civil War a number of things served to widen the breach between the Northern and Southern Methodists. The anti-slavery agitation continued in the Northern Church, although non-slaveholding as a test of membership was not obligatory until 1864. The contest between the Churches over possession of the border states was especially severe and bitter, and lasted up unto and through the Civil War. When the Northern Church attempted to establish itself in the Southern territory anti-slavery mobs handled the preachers roughly in some cases, and the Church was declared by some to be a "nuisance, a stench in the nostrils of our people."[112] Thus the stage was gradually being prepared for the bitter struggle between the two Churches during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods.

Let us see what the effect of the abolition movement in general and the anti-slavery struggle in the Methodist Church in particular, had on the efforts to elevate and evangelize the Negro. The abolition movement in the North did not affect the enthusiasm of the Methodists in the South in their mission work among the slaves. Despite the fear among many of the planters that the missions would endanger the established order of things, the Methodist leaders launched the project in 1829 and prosecuted it with vigor. They argued that the plantation mission was the best guarantee of an honest, sober, hard working servant, and the best and safest method of providing for the oral instruction of the colored people.[113]

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[111] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, pp. 265-267; McTyeire, op. cit., pp. 647-648; Farish, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
[112] Sweet, W. W. The M. E. Church and the Civil War, p. 31.

The fruits of the first year of the project were such as to encourage those who had lent it support. The response of the slaves had been gratifying, and as a result of the labors of the missionaries, 657 colored persons had been brought into the Church as members on trial. Their conduct reported to be much improved, and many were joyous in their new found faith.[114]

The responsibility for directing and promoting the missions among the slaves fell largely to William Capers, who became the first superintendent of the work. Capers prepared a catechism for the use of the missionary teachers who were employed in giving religious instruction to the negroes. This small volume was entitled "A Short Catechism for the Use of the Colored Members on Trial of the M. E. Church in South Carolina," and was used for many years throughout the South. It became the foremost textbook on the Methodist missions. The method used in instructing the slaves is well illustrated by a comment from the Reverend John Massey, one of the missionaries in the project. He says:

> Our manner is to read and expound the word of God to them; catechize them from the catechism, and teach them to memorize the ten commandments. Though some of them are very dull, they are generally very attentive to our instructions. In teaching them the Apostle's Creed, and explaining the nature of the sacraments, we adopt the catechetical method in order

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[113] Pinckney, Charles C., Address Delivered in Charleston, 1829, p. 11, as cited by Williams, op. cit., p. 40.
[114] Missionary Society Report, 1847, p. 325, as cited by Williams, op. cit., p. 41.

to test their understanding of these things.[115]

The nature of the instruction given to the slaves is also described in this part of a report submitted to the South Carolina Conference:

> Our missionaries inculcate the duties of servant to their masters as we find those duties in the Scriptures. They hold that a Christian slave must be submissive, faithful and obedient, for reason of the same authority with those which oblige husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters to fulfill the duties of these relations. We would employ no one in the work who might hesitate to teach thus, nor can such a one be found in the whole number of preachers in the conference.[116]

T. H. Law, of South Carolina, tells of his work instructing the slaves in that State. In his regular pastorate he preached to the whites in the morning, and to the colored people in the afternoon. His plan of instruction is described in the following words:

> I used a simple Catechism prepared especially for this people, and intended to cover the fundamental truths of salvation, which were set forth in simple language. I drilled them in this book, putting the questions and reading the answers, which they repeated after me, and kept up this until they had commited the answers to memory. Of course I explained and applied the truth as I went along. I also taught them songs and hymns, which I read over and over, and had them repeat after me in the same way (as they could not read), and then sing as I led them. The exercises were so interspersed with these songs, which they would stand and sing, and in which Negroes always take delight, that they were kept awake and interested. I further had them commit to memory verses of Scripture which I gave them on printed cards, distributed every Sabbath for attendance; the next

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[115] Pinckney, C. C., *Address Delivered in Charleston,* 1829, p. 10, as cited by Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[116] Shipp, A. M., *The History of Methodism in South Carolina*, (Nashville, 1883), pp. 497-498.

> Sabbath calling on as many as could to stand up and recite the verses which they had memorized from the cards by the aid of their white masters and mistresses at home.[117]

The greatest success in the mission work among the slaves was in South Carolina, where, in 1839, at the end of ten years, seventeen missionaries were employed. There were 79 appointments in the State, embracing 234 plantations and 6,556 Church members, to whom preaching and the sacraments were regularly given. They had also under regular catechetical instruction 25,025 negro children.[118] Missions were also established in this period in Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee.

During the stormy session of the General Conference of 1844, William Capers revealed something of the spirit of the Southern Conferences with which they labored among the colored people. At this last session of the Conference of united Methodism, in making an impassioned appeal for the continuation of the missionary enterprise, he said:

> When we tell you that we preach to 100,000 slaves in our missionary field, we only announce the beginning of our work; when we add that there are now 200,000 within our reach who have no gospel unless we give it to them, it is still but the same announcement of the opening of that wide and effectual door which was so long closed, and so lately has begun to be opened for preaching of the gospel by our ministry to a numerous and destitute portion of the people. Oh, close not this door! Life or death, we will never desert that work to which we know God has called us.[119]

In 1844, when the division of the Church became inevitable, the plantation missions were in the full tide of success. They were maintained by the whole Methodist Episcopal Church, but their chief support came from the Conferences in the South. In that year (1844) there were 68 missions in nine of the Southern States, with 80 missionaries and 22,063 members. In that year, the Southern Conferences paid $22,397.25 to this work. It is estimated that the Conferences in the South gave for this cause $200,000 during fifteen years, up to 1844.[120]

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[117] Law, T. H., "Work Among Southern Negroes," New York Observer (March 12, 1896), as cited in The Christian Educator (February-March, 1896), p. 43.
[118] Hartzell, Joseph C., Methodism and the Negro in the United States, (Cincinnati, 1894), p. 4.
[119] Thirkield, Wilbur P., "The Negro: The Problem," in A Working Conference on the Union of American Methodism, p. 249.

Freed from all embarrassments from connectional relations with abolition sentiment, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South entered upon prosperous times, in the missionary movement among the colored people. Before the division there was some fear among the slaveholders that certain missionaries would encourage the slaves in their desire for freedom. Now that the Southern Church had repudiated all connection with the abolitionists in the North, the very endorsement of a Southern Conference was considered by masters as evidence of the missionary's reliability.[121]

By 1846 the missions in South Carolina had so outgrown the missions in the other States that its success among the Negroes deserves more than casual attention. This success was due, no doubt, to the influence of Dr. Capers. Such was the progress of the movement in that State that the South Carolina Conference drew up a plan of uniform work throughout the South, and presented it to the General Conference for its approval and adoption, which was done after the plan was slightly modified.[120] Its provisions in brief were as follows:

1. So apportion the work among available ministers

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[120] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
[121] Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
[122] Southall, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

> and missionaries that no section would not be covered. 2. That in localities where there were regular churches, the mission work would be carried on by the pastors, so that missionaries could be sent to remote places and to the large plantations. 3. Where no provisions could be made for a separate church, Negroes and whites were to comprise one congregation, with separate seating arrangement. 4. At camp-meetings seats were to be provided at the back of stand or pulpit for Negroes, and after the preaching the presiding minister would appoint someone to conduct prayer-meeting among them. 5. In order that they "might be able to answer questions at baptism and to have some competent knowledge of the Christian doctrine," ministers were advised to set apart some time during the Sunday appointment, for the purpose of giving catechetical instruction orally, both to the adults and children. The instruction was to be oral so as not to conflict with the laws of states prohibiting the teaching of Negroes to read and write.[123]

The views of the Southern Methodist Church on the subject of slavery and its policy in evangelizing the blacks brought it in perfect harmony with Southern politics and the existing social order. It was thus prepared, under the protection of Southern slaveholding practice and sentiment, to continue and enlarge regular missionary work among the slave population.

The membership of this Church from 1846, when Southern Methodism became fully organized, to 1861, when the Civil War began, rose from 449,654 to 703,295. This was, in fifteen years, an increase of 253,741 members.[124] Dividing this increase by races, among the whites it rose from 330,710 in 1846, to 493,459 in 1861, being an increase of 162,749; and for the same period the Negro membership rose from 118,904 to 209,863, an increase of 90,932.[125] Efforts to increase the Negro membership of the Church, as is seen by the above figures, met with encouraging results, and the missions among the plantation Negroes was prosecuted with equally gratifying results. The Minutes of the Southern Methodist Conferences reveal that in 1861, there were 329 Negro missions throughout the South, with 327 missionaries and 66,559 members. It is estimated that from 1844 to 1864, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, expended $1,800,000 in plantation work among the slaves.[126]

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[123] Journal of the M. E. Church, 1856, p. 192, as cited by Ibid., pp. 362-363.

[124] Hartzell, J. C., Methodism and the Negro in the United States, p. 9.

[125] Ibid.

So eager were some of the women of the South to support the work among the slaves that they parted with their jewelry in order to make their contribution.[127] It is reported that General Stonewall Jackson did not neglect his contribution to the work even on the field of battle. Lying in his tent the night before the battle of Manassa he wrote the following communication:

> My dear pastor, in my tent last night, after a fatiguing day's service, I remembered that I had failed to send you my contribution for our colored Sunday-school. Enclosed you will find my check for that object, which please acknowledge at your earliest convenience, and oblige yours faithfully,
> T. J. Jackson.[128]

While the oral instruction of the slaves was being carried forward in the South, the Methodist Episcopal Church in the North established the first Methodist institution of higher learning for the education of the colored people.[129] At the session of the Cincinnati Conference in 1853, a movement was inaugurated which eventually led to the establishment of Wilberforce University. A committee was appointed to take the necessary steps in establishing the school and in 1854 recommended "first, . . . the establishment of a literary institution of a high order, for the education of colored people and the preparation of teachers; and second, . . . that an attempt be made on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church to secure co-operation with the African Methodist Episcopal Church in promoting education among the colored people." [130] The Cincinnati Conference, in 1855, instructed its delegates to the approaching General Conference to bring before that body the subject of establishing a university for the colored people, and to secure its sanction and co-operation in behalf of the movement.[131]

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[126] Hartzell, J. C. "Methodism and the Negro in the United States," in The Journal of Negro History (July, 1923), VIII, 309.
[127] Harrison, op. cit., p. 302
[128] Jackson, M. E., Life of Stonewall Jackson, p. 182.
[129] Hartzell, J. C., Methodism and the Negro in the U. S., p. 8.

This whole subject was presented to the General Conference of 1856, and referred to a committee, which, after due consideration, reported favorably in regard to the enterprise. On May, 22, 1856, this report was adopted by the Conference without a single vote in the negative. The property and buildings of the Tawawa Springs Hotel, near Xenia, Ohio, was secured, and John F. Wright and Mansfield French entered upon the work of raising the money for its purchase.[132]

On August 30, 1856, the institution was organized and incorporated under the name of Wilberforce University,[133] in honor of William Wilberforce, the English philanthropist and abolitionist.[134] The next year the Visiting Committee of the Cincinnati Conference reported the

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130 Rust, R. S., "Anniversary Address," at Wilberforce University, 1898, as quoted in The Christian Educator, (April-May, 1898), p. 85.
131 Ibid., p. 85.
132 Ibid., p. 85-86.
133 Ibid., p. 86.
134 Holmes, D. O. W., The Evolution of the Negro College, (New York, 1934), p. 141.

school in a flourishing condition, and said: "The examinations showed conclusively that the minds of the present class of students are capable of a very high degree of cultivation." 135 It was opened and conducted, first as an elementary school, and then as a university, under the direction of the following: Reverend M. P. Gaddis, Jr., teacher, six months, 1856; James K. Parker, principal, eighteen months, 1857-58; and Reverend R. S. Rust, D. D., president, 1858-1863. To Dr. Rust belongs most of the honor of the success of the institution in its early existence. In the beginning, especial attention was devoted to elementary education, preparatory to business and industrial life, as well as to an advanced course of college study. It had a normal department also, in which many colored people were trained as school teachers. A deep interest was taken in the young men preparing for the ministry, and many went from the university to the pulpit.

In its infancy the university gave promise of strength and usefulness in its mission of educating the Negro race. During the first seven years prior to the transfer of the institution to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, it educated many who became prominent in business, the professions, and the Church. Among these were Hayslet, a popular preacher in New England; Hogan, a successful evangelist; Cain, a missionary, a member of Congress, and a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church; Jackson and Shorter "filled professors' chairs," and Hunter became an able Book Agent in the Church.[136]

The establishment of such a school was demanded, in view of the fact that institutions of higher learning, with a few exceptions--as

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135 Hartzell, J. C., Methodism and the Negro in the United States, p. 8.
136 Rust, op. cit., p. 86.

Canaan, New Hampshire, Canterbury, Connecticut, and Oberlin, Ohio--were closed against colored students; or if allowed to enter popular colleges, they were exposed to such discouragements that only a few could succeed.[137]

There seemed to be a coincidence of thought and action, as well as of necessity and opportunity, in the co-operation of the Cincinnati and African Conferences in the establishment of Wilberforce University. The African Conference needed a college for the education of its youth, and the Cincinnati Conference, desiring to secure the same object, offered to aid in the accomplishment of this enterprise.[138] Thus the Cincinnati Conference invited the co-operation of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and with the concurrence of the General Conference, welcomed the African Conference to unite in this enterprise on the broad principles of Christian philanthropy, without any distinctions on account of race or color. This offer was accepted with enthusiasm by the colored people.[139]

In 1860 the attendance at Wilberforce University was over two hundred students. Dr. Rust, the president of the institution from 1858 to 1863, stated in a commencement address to the University in 1898, that the student body during his administration "included pupils whose progress and attainments in the same time I have never, in my long experience, seen surpassed."[140]

Before the Civil War many of the students of Wilberforce came from the South, and were supported by the wealthy planters of that section.[141]

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[137] Ibid., p. 87.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Ibid., p. 88

[141] Hartzell, J. C., "Rev. R. S. Rust, D. D., LL.D.," in the Christian Educator (January, 1891), p. 45.

When the war began, the income of the school was seriously interfered with, and a brave struggle to continue the school was made by Dr. Rust.[142] He solicited aid from the farmers of the surrounding country, but in July, 1862, the school was compelled temporarily to suspend operations.[143] At a meeting of the Board of Trustees on March 10, 1863, it was decided to dispose of the university for an amount to meet its indebtedness. At the suggestion of Dr. Rust, Bishop Daniel A. Payne, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, purchased the institution for $10,000, and the entire property of the university was transferred to the Ohio Conference of that Church. Bishop Payne took up his residence on the campus of the school, and watched over its interests for many years. He was a thorough scholar, an experienced educator, an able theologian, and during his day the leader of every educational movement in the African Methodist Episcopal Church.[144] Under his administration and guidance, the university flourished, and achieved great success in the education of the Negro race.

Thus we see the efforts made by the Methodists prior to the Civil War to elevate the Negro and improve his moral and religious condition. While there was disagreement among the Northern and Southern Methodists as to the policy of the Church in relation to the colored race, both bodies attempted to minister to its needs. By 1863, it is estimated that a quarter of a million colored people had been trained, even though crudely, in Methodist discipline, doctrines, and moral ideals.[145] In the South, the Negro worshiped in churches with the whites and had the advantage of hearing the best preaching. Through the activities of the Methodist Church, he had been given the rudiments of religious thought, and although he could not and was not permitted to read, he learned the passages of Holy Writ.. Many of the Negroes so stored the Bible in memory that they became "mighty in the Scriptures."[146] In fact, through the missions on the plantations, the religious program in local churches, and efforts put forth by religious bodies other than Methodists,[147] the Negro was schooled in the fundamentals of the Christian religion. Up until the time of the Civil War most of the religious work among the Negroes had been done by the Methodists of the South; however, after the war the situation was reversed, and the Northern Methodists inaugurated an educational and religious program among this people which was to become perhaps the greatest single contribution of Methodism to the Negro race.

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[142] Ibid., p. 45.
[143] Rust, op. cit., p. 88.
[144] Ibid., pp. 88-89.
[145] Thirkield, op. cit., p. 249.

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[146] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

[147] No attempt has been made to describe the work of other religious organizations among the Negroes.

Chapter II

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTHERN METHODISM

The full significance of the educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South can not be understood without a survey of the organization of that Church in the Southern States after the division of 1844.

The Plan of Separation which was agreed upon by the General Conference of 1844 set up a line between the Northern and Southern Churches across which neither had any rights or claims. However, the Methodist Episcopal Church had a right to claim all societies, stations, and conferences on the border south of this line which should, by a majority vote, decide to adhere to it. The line between the conferences in 1844 was as follows:

> Beginning on the Chesapeake Bay at the mouth of the Rappahannock River; thence up that stream, westward to the Blue Ridge thence southward along the ridge to a point south of the railroad from Lynchburg to Bristol, so as to include Salem and Christiansburg in the Baltimore Conference; thence to the New River, and down that stream to the line now forming the boundary of the State of West Virginia, and across to the Big Sandy on the Kentucky line, and down that river to the Ohio; down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and up the Mississippi to the north line of Missouri, and west along that line to the western boundary of that State.[1]

Across this line to the southward the Methodist Episcopal Church from 1844 to 1848 did not propose to go, unless it was to minister to such societies as voted to adhere to it, as provided by the report of the committee on the separation of the Church.[2]

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[1] Fuller, E. Q., "Our Southern Field," in the Methodist Quarterly Review, (New York, April 1878), XL, 220.

As has been previously stated, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 1848 completely repudiated the action of the Conference of 1844 for the following reasons: "(1) there was no necessity for division; (2) the Southern church had violated the Plan by crossing the line of division; (3) the Annual Conferences had failed to authorize a division of the Church property."[3] A recent investigator of this controversy in the Church, has come to this conclusion, which has been called a "triumph of impartiality":[4]

> While it is easy to explain the action of the General Conference of 1848, it is not easy to justify it. True, the church loved its unity and power. It was a pity to disrupt a mighty aggregation of Christians. True, the patience of Northern Methodists had been sorely tried by the bitterness of Southern partisans. True, some in the South adopted too selfish an interpretation of the boundary provisions of the Plan. It may be true in the long run repudiation worked good rather than harm in simplifying the situation for both branches of American Episcopal Methodists. Nay, even while we admit for the sake of argument that the Conference of 1848 had a strict and legal right to nullify the Plan, still we find it impossible to contemplate its acts with complete approval. The Plan was a wonderful exhibition of Christian charity, manifested in a situation as baffling as any that ever confronted a great religious assembly. In that sense the Plan was the glory of a self-sacrificing church. In agreeing to it the church followed closely in the foot-steps of its Head. When removed from the mellowing influences of that trying session, the North took a more cold-blooded view of the issue; Northern Methodists concluded that their delegates had gone too far. Repudiation was born and grew lustily. If the Southerners wished to leave, let them leave as seceders. This feeling marked a violent reaction from the noble expressions and acts of the General Conference of 1844. Then in 1848, when the

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[2] Ibid., p. 221.
[3] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, p. 258.
[4] Ibid., p. 258.

> partner most vitally interested in the Plan was unrepresented, the other half of the supposedly dissolved partnership, assuming to act as judge in its own case, declared the act sanctioning dissolution unconstitutional, null and void from the start. Admitting the difficulties of the problem, and speaking in all charity, we cannot help feeling that it was a mistake to repudiate the Plan of Separation.[5]

After the repudiation of the Plan by the Northern Methodists, there followed a period of activity on the part of both Northern and Southern Methodists to cross the line of separation. The Reverend E. Q. Fuller declared that "the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, using all the means in its power, proper and improper, passed over this border to the north, and sought to occupy all of the territory in the slave States, and some in the free as well, in the most flagrant violations of the report called by the Southern Church the 'Plan of Separation,' and for which it now professes such ardent love." He further asserted that:

> The Virginia Conference crossed the Chesapeake Bay to the Eastern Shore, and sought to break up societies and circuits in the Philadelphia Conference, also the Rappahannock to the north, and the Blue Ridge to the west, into the Valley of Virginia, in the Baltimore Conference, disaffecting societies and seizing churches without respect to the 'border.' The Kentucky Conference crossed the line to the east into West Virginia, then in the Ohio Conference, and made most extraordinary efforts to break up our work there, and to drive the Methodist Episcopal Church from the country. Nothing in the history of mankind is more certain than that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, determined to occupy all of the slave territory, and exclude the Methodist Episcopal Church therefrom. It organized a Conference in California in 1852, and made a vigorous effort in Kansas in the early settlement of that State, in the expectation that slavery would be established there in violation of a most solemn compact. . . . In 1861 the

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[5] Norwood, op. cit., pp. 124-125.

> Virginia portion of the Baltimore Conference met at Staunton, most of the members from Maryland being absent because of the breaking out of the Rebellion, and,,in a kind of outside convention, voted the whole Conference with the membership and Church property, out of the Methodist Episcopal Church, intending to transfer all, in opposition to a majority of the preachers and members, to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at the General Conference to be held in New Orleans in 1862. . . . Then this faction, having become an independent Baltimore Conference, united with the Southern Church, and claimed to transfer to that body everything belonging to the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[6]

There was constant conflict between the two Churches in the States of Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, and Maryland from 1848 to 1861. It was not uncommon for mobs to break up worship services of both Churches, so rife was the spirit of contention and ill-feeling. In the Missouri Conference, where "the vote to adhere South was so general in the State that no one thought of accepting the 'pastoral care' of the ministers of the M. E. Church, North, until after that Church had pronounced the Plan of Separation null and void,"[7] a small minority of its members attempted to keep that Conference within the fold of the Northern Church. This Conference was so over-whelmingly Southern in sympathy that only fourteen members voted to adhere to the Methodist Episcopal Church.[8] Nevertheless the Northern minority in the Conference attempted to persuade Bishop Morris in 1845 to organize a Conference in the State as against the Missouri Conference of the Southern Methodist Church. This he declined to do, explaining that he was bound by the Plan of Separation not to enter the state to organize a Conference while the Church South already had a Conference of the same name and on the same territory.[9] This policy was given up, however, after 1848, and the Northern Church went so far as to establish a new church paper, the Central Christian Advocate, in Saint Louis, to champion its cause.[10] Until the Civil War the Northern Methodists managed to keep up "a factious, feeble organization in some places in the State, sustained by missionary money from the North, which took advantage of every popular excitement against them to manufacture foreign sympathy, and, at the same time, furnish a convenient refuge for the disaffected, malcontents, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South."[11]

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[6] Fuller, op. cit., pp. 221-222.
[7] Leftwich, W. M., Martyrdom in Missouri (St. Louis, 1870), I, 86.
[8] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, p. 260.

With the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854, opening up the Kansas Territory for settlement, and repealing the Missouri Compromise, the moral and religious sentiment in the whole country was deeply stirred. Three thousand New England clergymen signed a protest against the passage of this bill, and both Northern and Southern Methodists took an active part in the discussion of the legislation. The Zion's Herald announced that the passage of this legislation was a "treacherous deed, disgraceful alike to the Senate and the nation."[12] On the other hand, the ministers and editors of the Southern Methodist Church severely criticized the political activity of the Northern churchmen. The editor of the Nashville and Louisville Christian Advocate declared: "We most sincerely wish that he" (the editor of the Christian Advocate and Journal) "and all the religious editors in this land would attend to their appropriate work, and leave great national questions and state politics to the people and citizens. . . . Better preach repentance and holiness than to meddle with the organizations of states and territories."[13] Reverend A. B. Longstreet of the Southern Church was likewise alarmed over the political interest manifested in the Kansas affair in the churches of the North. In a baccalaureate address delivered at the University of South Carolina in 1859 he declared:

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[9] Hyde, A. B., The Story of Methodism (Greenfield, Mass., 1887), p. 204.
[10] Sweet, loc. cit.
[11] Leftwich, op. cit., I, 88.
[12] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, p. 261.

> Christ rebuked Peter for drawing a sword in defense of his person. He scourged out the dealers and money-changers from the temple. How must he have regarded the scene in the North Church of New Haven? There, under the presidency of one of his professed ministers, were assembled preachers, professors, Christians, students, women. With a levity which the sanctity of the place and his calling should have banished, the head of the assembly opens a subscription of rifles to be used upon their countrymen in Kansas. The spirit of the head pervades the assembly, and amidst laughter, plaudits, and shocking pleasantries the subscription proceeds. They all subscribe, even the women; while Henry Ward Beecher puns upon the name of Killam as befitting the work in hand. Benjamin Silliman, a renowned professor, invites his disciples to come by classes and imitate his example in the cold-blooded murder plot. All this they did to drive slave-holders from the common territory of the States, and this they call 'defense of freedom.' Remember that such subscriptions as these began before there were any 'border ruffians.' Paul and Peter teach obedience of slaves to their masters; *they teach* revolt of slaves against their masters.[14]

While the Northern Church professed to abhor slavery, this aversion to the institution did not prevent that Church from organizing Conferences in the South. There was some opposition to bringing slave-holders in the Church after the division, but the eagerness to extend the Church into the border states overcame it. During a meeting in Boston, at which the organization of an annual Conference in Kentucky was under consideration, the Reverend Heman Bangs, with forcible irony, said: "What do you want to go there for? Have they not Methodist doctrine and Methodist discipline and Methodist institutions already? What do you want to go there for? If it is to get more of these miserable slave-holders into our Church, then I am opposed to it. Haven't we enough of them already?" Another opponent of the expansion policy of the Church also remarked at the same meeting: "Those slaveholders who were in the Church were understood to be there by toleration rather than by right. It was a matter of grievance, matter of profound regret, that there was one in the Church, and that our anti-slavery friends were under the necessity every four years of praying us to put a stop to slavery. Is it true that we are trying to tow others in? God forbid!"[15] Nevertheless, the Kentucky Conference was created and subsequently another in Arkansas and in Missouri. In 1856, the Bishops of the Church in their Episcopal Address to the General Conference suggested the careful handling of a certain subject, because as a result of the organization policy "we have six annual Conferences which are wholly or in part in slave territory."[16] However, the bishops stated that this fact did "not tend to extend or perpetuate slavery."[17]

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[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 261-262.
[14] Fitzgerald, O. P., *Judge Longstreet*, (Nashville, 1891), p. 102.

In 1859, Bishop Janes of the Methodist Episcopal Church, presided over the Timber Creek Conference in the state of Texas. The activities of the anti-slavery party in that region, and the threat that Indian Territory and northern Texas should be made free territory had rendered the public mind very excitable. A committee of citizens of Fannin County, Texas, was appointed to confer with Bishop Janes and remonstrate against sending abolition preachers into Texas. The bitterness of the population of that state against Northern men resulted in the hanging of Reverend Anthony Bewley, a member of the Timber Creek Conference, by a mob of irresponsible Texans.[18] This incident, and others of less severity, widened the breach between the two Churches, and more or less prepared them for their participation in the political struggle soon to follow.

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[15] McTyeire, op. cit., pp. 60-61.
[16] Ibid., p. 61.
[17] Quoted by Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, p. 262.

Although the Methodist Episcopal Church had been able to establish itself in some parts of the South prior to the Civil War, the beginning of hostilities between the Union and the Confedoracy provided the greatest opportunity for what the Southerners considered an "invasion."

Both Churches were active in the War. The long contest over slavery prepared each of them to take a firm stand with their section of the country. In addition to their loyalty to the Federal Government, the Northern Methodists were anxious to support the Union in order to rid the nation of slavery, despite the fact that some slaveholders were still in the Church at the beginning of the War. With the opening of the Civil War many of the Northern Methodist Conferences passed resolutions expressive of loyalty to the national government.[19] The New York East Conference in 1863 voted to have the oath of allegiance administered to the entire body, and a major general of the army and a judge of the United States Supreme Court were summoned to administer the oath and were given "seats within the altar near the bishop."[20] The sermons delivered from the pulpits of the Northern Methodist churches were political and patriotic, and in many cases the recruiting of soldiers for the army took place in churches, the "minister and recruiting officer standing behind the altar, while the preacher urged the young men to come forward and place their names upon the roll; and in not a few cases the first name on the list was the minister's."[21] On the day after the fall of Fort Sumter, one writer describes the effect of that incident upon the Methodist churches in Indiana. He says:

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[18] Thrall, H. S., History of Methodism in Texas (Houston, 1872), pp. 124-126.

[19] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, pp. 284-285; Buckley, J. M., A History of Methodists in the United States (New York, 1898), V, p. 509.

> Sunday morning dawned; but what a Sabbath! From four hundred Methodist pulpits in Indiana, on that day, prayers went up for the preservation of the Union, the maintenance of the national life, and the suppression of the rebellion, at whatever cost of blood and treasure it might require. And in not a few instances, congregation, pastor and choir, united in singing national songs, which on that day had a sanctity and a significance that they had never possessed before. . . .[82]

As the war grew in proportions religious men in great numbers gave themselves to the support of the national government. In many cases, whole Bible classes from the Sabbath schools of the Indiana Methodist churches enlisted in the army en masse.[23] In Kentucky, the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church were zealous in their loyalty to the Union cause. At Newport, one minister on a Sabbath morning

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20 Ibid., p. 284.
21 Ibid., p. 285.
22 Holliday, F. C., Indiana Methodism (Cincinnati, 1873), p. 151.
23 Ibid., p. 151.

in 1861 had his church decorated with flags and brass eagles; and during the service the musical selections sung were "Star-Spangled Banner," the "Red, White and Blue," and "Hail, Columbia." In his prayer he expressed the hope that the Union might be preserved "even though blood may come out of the wine-press, even unto the horses' bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs." In his sermon he declared:

> I trust our troops will rally and wipe out the disgrace at Manassa, though it cost the life of every rebel under arms. Let Davis and Beauregard be captured, to meet the fate of Haman. Hang them upon Mason's and Dixon's line, that traitors may be warned. Let them hang until vultures shall eat their rotten flesh from their bones; let them hang until the crows shall build their filthy nests in their skeletons; let them hang until the rope rots, and let their dismembered bones fall so deep into the earth that God Almighty can't find them in the day of resurrection.[24]

The ministers of both Northern and Southern Methodist Churches enlisted in the armies and served as commissioned line officers during the war. In 1862 it was reported that there were sixty-three Methodist ministers holding commissions in the Union army. General Clinton B. Fisk, a Methodist, stated in 1862 that fifteen per cent of the soldiers in the Union army were Methodists, and if this be true, 300,000 soldiers in the army were members of the Methodist Church.[25] Numerous Methodist ministers served as chaplains during the war. In April, 1861, Gilbert Haven of the New England Conference was commissioned chaplain of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment, one writer claiming that he was "the first chaplain commissioned after the outbreak of the war."[26]

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[24] Moore, Frank, The Rebellion Record--A Diary of American Events, IV, p. 22, as cited in Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, p. 281.
[25] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, p. 286.
[26] Prentice, George, The Life of Gilbert Haven, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1883), p. 219.

Altogether the Methodist Episcopal Church furnished at least five hundred chaplains to the Union army.[27] Many of these chaplains conducted revival services in the army camps with great success, and also served as distributors of religious tracts and church periodicals, in addition to the regular duties of their office.

The Methodist Church, South, also furnished many chaplains to the Confederate army, whose officers were particularly hospitable to their ministrations. Log chapels were built by General Stonewall Jackson's corps for the purpose of divine worship,[28] and the revival services among the Confederates were more successful than in the army of the North. Many of the Southern ministers also served as commissioned line officers in the fighting forces of the Confederate army. Indeed, the record of the Southern Methodist Church was of the same quality as that of the Northern Methodist Church. As Lincoln said of the Northern Church, so Davis might have said of the Southern: "It sent more soldiers to the field and more nurses to the hospitals than any other religious body."[29] As to the prominent part taken by the Southern Methodists in the Civil War, Dr. J. L. M. Curry stated that "the names of the preachers and colporteurs not holding official appointment are legion, but I can recall Bishops Early, McFerrin, Marvin, Pierce, and Doggett; Haygood and scores more. The pulpit furnished some of the best officers.... Hundreds of preachers were in the ranks."[30]

The Methodist Episcopal bishops were no less active in the war than the ministers and laity. Perhaps Bishops Matthew Simpson and Edward R. Ames were best known for their activities in support of the Federal government. Bishop Simpson was of great benefit to the government in the days when the Union cause was at low ebb. Just before and during the war, Bishop Simpson and President Lincoln had become well acquainted and fast friends. The Bishop was frequently called to Washington by Mr. Lincoln for purposes of consultation.[31] Because of his stand before the war as editor of The Western Christian Advocate on political questions he had won the confidence of such leaders as Chase and Stanton. He generally upheld the Republican point of view in his editorials in discussing public questions. On his visits to Washington, he almost invariably called at the War Department to visit with Secretary of War Stanton, who was also a staunch member of the Methodist Church. In 1863, Stanton requested the Bishop to serve on a commission to investigate the conditions among the freedmen on the Eastern seaboard, and make suggestions concerning their welfare, but this he declined.[32] The Reverend Dr. John Lanahan stated that during the war the Bishop and Secretary Stanton "had many interviews," and added, "I was never present when they conversed specifically about 'public affairs,' but have no doubt, from my conversations with the bishop, that such talk was had."[33] Soon after the war started, President Lincoln found that the "issues of the war being moral," the support of the churches was of the greatest importance, and Bishop Simpson, more than any other clergyman in the North helped to rally the churches to the Union cause. He became the "evangelist of patriotism" having for his field of operations the while section of the country in the North. He plead for the loyal cause with such power that "where despair had reigned, he left hope and confidence in God."[34] During the four years of the war he went up and down the country delivering his great lecture entitled "Our Country," with telling results. This lecture, whenever given, never failed to arouse the greatest patriotic enthusiasm, and "men clenched their hands, shouted, stamped, stood on their feet, and were left at the end in a tumult of patriotic excitement."[35] Harper's Weekly, describing the effects of this lecture in Pittsburgh, in October, 1864, stated:

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[27] Sweet, W. W., The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War, p. 139.
[28] Ibid., p. 223.
[29] Hyde, op. cit., p. 205.
[30] Curry, J. L. M., Civil History of the Confederate States: With Some Personal Reminiscences (Richmond, 1901), p. 178.

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[31] Crooks, George R., The Life of Bishop Matthew Simpson (New York, 1891), pp. 370-372. For the relationship of Pres. Lincoln and Bishop Simpson see Sweet, W. W., "Bishop M. Simpson and the Funeral of Abraham Lincoln," in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, (April, 1914), VII, pp. 62-71.

[32] Sweet, loc. cit.

[33] Crooks, op. cit., pp. 274-375.

> Toward the close (of the address) an eye witness says: Laying his hand on the torn and ball-riddled colors of the Seventy-Third Ohio, he spoke of the battle fields where they had been baptized in blood, and described their beauty as some patch of azure, filled with stars, that an angel had snatched from the heavenly canopy to set the stripes in blood. With this description began a scene that Demosthenes might have envied. All over the vast assembly handkerchiefs and hats were waved, and before the speaker sat down the whole throng arose as if my magic influence and screamed . . . Colonel Moody sprang to the top of a bench and called for The Star-Spangled Banner, which was sung or rather shouted, until the audience dispersed.[36]

In the delivery of this speech in the Academy of Music at New York City, on November 3, 1864, Simpson stated: "Then the question comes, 'Shall our form of government be changed?' This is what Mr. Davis expects . . .

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[34] Ibid., pp. 377-378.
[35] Ibid.
[36] As cited in Sweet, W. W., The Story of Religions in America (New York, 1930), pp. 466-467.

The South hopes for a monarchy, but this nation will never tolerate a monarchy."[37] The delivery of the speech in New York served a double purpose, not only arousing patriotism, but also assisting in the election of President Lincoln in 1864. Mark Hoyt, who had the preparations for the meeting in charge, wrote to Bishop Simpson: "All your friends agree that you should speak before the election. Speaking at that time, with the full report, promised, in the Tribune, Times, Herald, and Evening Post, is equivalent to speaking to the nation."[38]

Bishop Ames was also a staunch defender of the Union cause. In 1862 he was appointed by the War Department to serve on a commission to visit the Union prisoners in Richmond and elsewhere "to relieve their necessities and provide for their comfort at the expense of the United States." His appointment on this commission aroused considerable protest in the South and led an ex-minister of the Northern Methodist Church to write to President Jefferson Davis warning him against permitting "this astute politician, who in the garb of a Christian minister and with the specious plea of 'Humanity' upon his lips, would insinuate himself into the very heart of that government whose very foundation he would most gladly destroy."[39] In an address to the Genesee Annual Conference on the state of the country, Bishop Ames declared that, "were it his duty to join the Union army and fight the rebels, he should shoot very fast, he would 'fire into them most benevolently.'"[40] Of his service to the government during the war Dr. Fowler states:

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[37] Crooks, op. cit., p. 383.
[38] Ibid., p. 381.
[39] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, p. 294.
[40] Conable, F. W., History of the Genesee Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, (New York, 1876), p. 670.

> His familiarity with the South, acquired by traveling over it in the order of his work, and his close observations of the topography, productions, highways, streams, towns, and cities of that region, made him of great service to the Government in ordering their campaigns. He was more than once closeted with President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton in planning for the suppression of the Rebellion, and more than once he was closeted with Stanton in prayer during the dark days.[41]

It is readily seen that the Civil War was considered by the church people in both North and South as having some of the aspects of a moral and religious war, and this attitude accounts in large part for the religious zeal and fervor with which both Churches entered it. A Northern Methodist contributor to the Christian Advocate and Journal in 1864 made the statement that "in truth, this is not less a religious than a civil war. On the one hand, the nation claims a divine right to be; and on the other, slavery claims a divine right to overthrow it. On the one hand, loyalty is inculcated as a religious duty; and on the other, disloyalty and treason are inculcated as a religious duty."[42] Looking back at the causes of the war and the part played by the Church in it, Mr. C. Reemelin of Cincinnati wrote to Reverend A. B. Longstreet of the Southern Methodist Church:

> We allow ourselves to remark. . . that it has always been marvelous to us that minds like those of Stonewall Jackson, Jefferson Davis, Bishop Polk, and A. B. Longstreet, did not see from the first that their most unrelenting foes came from the Northern Christian Churches. The fact that the first split between North and South occurred

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[41] Daniels, W. H., The Illustrated History of Methodism in Great Britain and America, from the days of the Wesleys to the Present Time (New York, 1880), p. 690.

[42] Letter of W. T. G." in the Christian Advocate and Journal, September 8, 1864.

> in the several religious sects might have led any discerning mind to see that the subsequent political imbroglio was an inevitable sequence of the former. The only reason why we had no open religious war was because our religious governments had no carnal weapons of their own. The Federal Government was made to carry on the war as an afterthought, but that did not make it an actual civil war any more than the thirty years war was such because emperors, kings, and dukes carried it on.[43]

On May 14, 1864, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church meeting at Philadelphia, voted an address to President Lincoln, and appointed a committee to present it to the President, with the assurances of the loyalty of the Church. In the text of the address the Conference stated that "in this present struggle for the nation's life many thousands of her members, and a large number of her ministers, have rushed to arms to maintain the cause of God and humanity."[44] At times during the war, the worship services in the Churches became strangely mixed with news of the progress of the war and worship. A Piqua, Ohio, correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette reports the following incident which occurred in a Methodist church in that city when the news arrived of the fall of Chattanooga:

> The glorious news from Chattanooga this morning cheated the Reverend Col. Moody out of the opportunity of delivering his Thanksgiving Sermon. We had met at the Green-Street Methodist Church, in accordance with the President's Proclamation, had sung the "President's Hymn,' taken up a collection of about sixty dollars for the Sanitary Commission and our fighting preacher had scarcely got through with his introduction, when the Gazette arrived, was brought into the church and handed to him by our patriotic sexton. The preacher stopped, paused a moment, and then shouted, 'Glorious news!' He read the headings of the telegraphic news

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[43] Letter of C. Reemelin to Longstreet, as cited in Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[44] De Puy, W. H., (ed.), *The Methodist Centennial Year-Book for 1884* (New York, 1884), p. 317.

> and said: 'The congregation will arise, Now three cheers for the old Stars and Stripes.' They were given with a will, and the walls of Green-Street rang with the shouts of sturdy old stewards and leaders. 'Now sing--all sing--Praise God from whom all blessings flow!' The congregation all joining. 'Now,' said the preacher, 'I have too much good sense to think that you would rather hear me preach than hear the news.' So he read all the dispatches with the editorial, which was frequently cheered by the congregation.[45]

When General Grant captured Richmond in 1865, the New England Conference was in session at Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Conference received the first news with "wild shoutings, all singing the Doxology and 'John Brown.'[46]

During the progress of the war and following the success of the Union armies, many towns and cities throughout the South fell into the possession of Union hands. Many Southern Methodist ministers in charge of the churches in these localities fled upon the approach of the Federal armies, and left their charges without pastors.[47] In New Orleans, in 1862, there was not a single minister habitually officiating in the five Methodist churches.[48] Like conditions prevailed in Eaton Rouge, Newbern, Vicksburg, Natchez, Pensecola, and Memphis.[49] The Western Christian Advocate announced that the Southern Methodist churches in many places were left without ministers, and their altars without worshipers.[50] Those churches not abandoned were said to be left in the hands of "disloyal" ministers.[51] This situation was brought to the attention of the Methodist Episcopal Church mainly through letters written by the Methodist army chaplains serving with the Federal forces. The Church periodicals during the war printed many of these letters telling of the deserted churches throughout the South. The deserted churches were sometimes used by the army chaplains for worship services. The Reverend J. W. Eaton of the Troy Conference, Chaplain of the 169th New York Regiment, tells of occupying an abandoned Methodist church in Suffolk, Virginia. He writes:

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[45] Cincinnati Gazette as quoted by the Christian Advocate and Journal, December 10, 1863.

[46] Christian Advocate and Journal, April 20, 1865.

[47] Christian Advocate and Journal, October 9, 1862; Sweet, W. W., The M. E. Church and the Civil War, p. 96.

[48] McPherson, op. cit., p. 545; Sweet, loc. cit.

[49] Christian Advocate, February 4, 1864.

[50] Western Christian Advocate, February 22, 1865.

[51] Crooks, op. cit., p. 459.

> Since we came to this place Rev. Bro. Hager, chaplain of the 118th New York Regiment, and myself have joined to hold our religious services on the Sabbath in the church building belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The society owning this beautiful edifice I judge to have been quite large and wealthy, but having 'strong southern proclivities,' many left the place upon the arrival of the Union forces, and when their church was given up to the military authorities the few who remained could not consistently worship with the 'northern vandals,' whose tread weekly polluted their holy place; and so, although there was regular Methodist preaching in their church each Sabbath, these Methodists were deprived of all the privileges of the sanctuary. Even an old, superannuated Methodist minister who now lives in this vicinity told me that he 'could not feel free to worship with us.' Such being the feelings of the citizens, our congregations have been made up entirely of men wearing the United States uniform.[52]

That these conditions in the South were known throughout the North is evidenced by a resolution passed by the Methodist Minister's Association in Boston, October 15, 1862, stating that inasmuch as the war had thrown"large tracts of country inhabited by many thousands of our fellow countrymen who are now to a greater or less extent deprived of Church privileges, we deem it the duty of the Missionary Board of the Churches to examine the demands of such places for aid from time to time . . .

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[52] Christian Advocate and Journal, July 2, 1863.

and establish and sustain such missions."[53] That the Northern Methodists were anxiously looking forward to entering the South as early as 1862 is also evidenced by a statement contained in the Annual Report of the Sunday School Union of the Church for that year. It reads:

> Before the present year declines, we trust, by the blessing of Jehovah, to see this fratricidal strife terminated, the authority of the Union reestablished, freedom made triumphant, and the whole land thrown open to Christian enterprise . . . The Southern States now and to be traversed by our armies, will then be trodden by our missionaries . . .[54]

In the same year the South was declared a fit field for missionary effort, and many church organizations passed resolutions urging the Church to make haste in occupying the territory.[55] In 1862 a few missionaries of the Northern Church were sent into the Port Royal area in South Carolina;[56] but the organized "invasion" of the South was to follow a year or so later.

Following the invading armies of the Union, the leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church pushed into the South, and planned to organize the Church in the conquered territory. Enjoying the favor of the Federal authorities, the bishops of the Church enlisted the aid of the Government in executing their plans. In November, 1862, Bishop Ames induced the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, to issue an order to the

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[53] Minutes of the Boston Methodist Preacher's Meeting, October 13, 1862, as cited by Sweet, W. W., The M. E. Church and the Civil War, pp. 97-98.

[54] Annual Report of the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1862, as cited by Wardle, A. S., History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1918), p. 98.

[55] Sweet, W. W., "Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review (March, 1915), pp. 547-548.

[56] Southern Christian Advocate, August 31, 1865, as cited in Simkins, F. B., and Woody, R. H., South Carolina During Reconstruction (Chapel Hill, 1932), p. 376.

Union commanders in the Departments of Missouri, Tennessee, and the Gulf, to place "at the disposal of the Rev. Bishop Ames all houses of worship belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in which a loyal minister, who has been appointed by a loyal Bishop of said Church does not officiate." The order directed the commanding officers to give Bishop Ames "all the aid, countenance, and support practicable in the execution of his important mission."[57] In December of the same year the same order was given directing that houses of worship belonging to the Southern Methodists in the Department of Virginia and North Carolina be delivered to Bishop O. C. Baker of the

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[57] McPherson, Edward, The Political History of the United States . . . During the Great Rebellion (Washington, 1865), p. 521, gives the order:

War Department, Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, November 30, 1862.

To the Generals commanding the Departments of the Missouri, the Tennessee, and the Gulf, and all Generals and officers commanding armies, detachments, and posts, and all officers in the service of the United States in the above mentioned Departments:

You are hereby directed to place at the disposal of Rev. Bishop Ames all houses of worship belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in which a loyal minister, who has been appointed by a loyal Bishop of said Church does not officiate.

It is a matter of great importance to the Government, in its efforts to restore tranquility to the community and peace to the Nation, that Christian ministers, should by example and precept, support and foster the loyal sentiment of the people.

Bishop Ames enjoys the entire confidence of this Department, and no doubt is entertained that all ministers who may be appointed by him will be entirely loyal. You are expected to give him all the aid, countenance, and support practicable in the execution of his important mission.

You are also authorized and directed to furnish Bishop Ames and his clerk with transportation and subsistence when it can be done without prejudice to the service, and will afford them courtesy, assistance and protection.

By order of the Secretary of War:

E. D. Townsend,
Assistant Adjutant General.

Methodist Episcopal Church, those in the Department of the South to Bishop E. S. Janes, and those in Kentucky and Tennessee to Bishop Matthew Simpson.[58] In 1864 similar orders were given to the Mission Boards of the Baptist, United Presbyterians, and Presbyterian Churches.[59]

While the orders were given to other denominations of the North, it appears that none of these Churches took advantage of the opportunity to occupy the houses of worship of a sister denomination in anything like the same measure as the Methodists. According to the Baltimore Methodist, Bishop Ames tried unsuccessfully to induce other church organizations to pursue a similar course of action,[60] and this periodical reported that Bishop Whittingham of the Protestant Episcopal Church rejected the Bishop's suggestion with contempt.[61] A Dutch Reformed minister, in New Orleans at the time Bishop Ames was organizing the Methodist Church there, was urged, it is said, to seize a Presbyterian church, but indignantly refused to do so.[62] While other religious denominations split over the same issues as did the Methodist Church, the itinerant ministry of that denomination was more adaptable to the seizure of Southern churches. Thus the other Churches escaped much of the friction that arose among the Methodists.

In many cases the Methodists from the North seized not only the houses of worship, but parsonages as well. In 1864, the Reverend Mr. DeMott of the Northern Church was sent to take possession of the church in Independence, Missouri. The trustees of the Southern Church had rented the parsonage to a widow, and when Mr. DeMott asked her to vacate the house and give up the key to the property, she refused to do so. He then appealed to the Commander of the Federal Post, and returned with the following military order:

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[58] Ibid., p. 521.
[59] Ibid., pp. 521-522.
[60] Sweet, W. W., The M. E. Church and the Civil War, pp. 26-27.
[61] Episcopal Methodist as quoted in the Nashville Christian Advocate. February 20, 1869, and cited in Farish, op. cit., p. 26.
[62] Ibid.

> Headquarters, 43d Infantry, Mo. Volunteers,
> Independence, Mo., March 31, 1865.
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> To Mrs. Brazil, living in Methodist Parsonage,
> Independence, Mo.:
>
> It having been requested to the commanding officer that you occupy the parsonage belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and persist in retaining possession of the same to the exclusion of the minister of said Church, using on connection with such refusal language defiant of the Federal authorities and treasonable to the United States Government, you are therefore required to move your household goods out of and evacuate said parsonage by the morning of the third of April proximo; at which time, on failure on your part to comply with this order, your goods will be removed by the commander of this station.[63]
>
> Very respectfully,
> B. R. Davis,
> Major, 43d Mo. Vols., Commanding station.

The church and parsonage were occupied and used by Mr. DeMott for several years, until the Southern Methodists regained control of the property in the courts.

The military order relating to the churches in Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia, illustrates the method of procedure followed by the military officials in turning over the property to the Northern denominations:

> General Order No. 3. -- All places of public worship in Norfolk and Portsmouth are hereby placed under the Provost Marshal of Norfolk and Portsmouth respectively, who shall see the pulpits properly filled by

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[63] Cited in Leftwich, op. cit., I, pp. 192-193.

> displaced, when necessary the present incumbents, and substituting men of known loyalty and the same sectarian denominations, either military or civil, subject to the approval of the Commanding General. They shall see that the Churches are open freely to all officers and soldiers, white or colored, at the usual hour of worship, and at other times, if desired, and they shall see that no insult or indignity be offered to them, either by word, look or gesture, on the part of the congregation. The necessary expenses will be levied, as far as possible, in accordance with the previous usages or regulations of each congregation, respectively. No property shall be removed, either public or private, without permission from these head-quarters.[64]

A letter, dated from Memphis, Tennessee, December 23, 1863, addressed to Bishop Ames, written by the military commander of that post, illustrates the method by which a church belonging to the Southern Methodists was turned over to the Bishop:

> In obedience to the orders of the Secretary of War, dated Washington, November 30, 1863, . . . I place at your disposal a house of worship known as "Wesley Chapel," in the city of Memphis, State of Tennessee. The said house being claimed as the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and there being no loyal minister appointed by a loyal Bishop, now officiating in said house of Worship.[65]

This property, however, did not remain in the hands of the Northern Methodists. In 1865, Bishop Ames had failed to send a minister to this place, and the military authorities returned it to the original trustees.[66]

It is difficult to ascertain the number of churches that were turned over to the Methodist Episcopal Church by the Federal authorities. However, the extent of this practice in one state is revealed in a statement appearing in the New Orleans Advocate of February 10, 1866. This periodical announced that a letter from Bishop Ames, which was dated Baltimore, Maryland, June 20, 1866, contained the "glorious news" that the President had issued an order "putting us in possession of 210 churches and 32 parsonages, which the Rebel Methodists in Virginia have occupied during the war."[67]

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[64] Stanton, R. L., The Church and the Rebellion (New York, 1864), p. 239; Sweet, W. W., The M. E. Church and the Civil War, pp. 101-102.

[65] McPherson, op. cit., p. 523.

[66] Letter from Memphis by C. C. North, in the Christian Advocate and Journal, February 23, 1865.

This invasion of the South by the Methodist Episcopal Church, supported by the military authorities, aroused considerable hostility among the people of the South. A convention of eight conferences of the Southern Methodist Church within the Federal lines registered a protest against the orders of Secretary Stanton, by adopting the following resolution on April 6, 1864:

> Whereas, Under an order issued by the Secretary of War, the authorities of another ecclesiastical body, distinct from, if not antagonistic to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have been empowered to take possession of the houses of worship belonging to said Church; and Whereas, We are informed and believe that said order does not meet the approval of the President of the United States; and further, believing that in the judgment and enlightened Christian feeling, both of the officers of the army and many sober-minded Christians, the order is regarded as unjust, unnecessary and subversive alike of good order and the rights of a numerous body of Christians; therefore,
> Resolved, That we do most respectfully protest against the execution of said order, and request the President to restrain and prevent its enforcement.[68]

The Southern ministers were right in their surmise that the action of the War Department did not meet the approval of President Lincoln. His attitude toward military interference with the churches is revealed in connection with the famous McPheeters case of St. Louis.[69] In December, 1862, Dr. Samuel B. McPheeters, a Presbyterian minister in St. Louis, was ordered by the Commanding general of the department of Missouri to vacate his pulpit and leave the state within ten days. This action of the general was prompted by the refusal of Dr. McPheeters to declare his loyalty to the United States, and also by his reputation as a man of influence among the enemies of the Federal government. In protest to the order of the military, Dr. McPheeters wrote a letter to the Attorney-General of the United States, which led to a prolonged discussion of the matter. When President Lincoln was finally drawn into the matter, he wrote to the commanding general at St. Louis in January, 1863, and stated: "I add that the United States Government, must not, as by this order undertake to run the Churches. When an individual, in a Church or out of it, becomes dangerous to the public, he must be checked; but let the Churches, as such, take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint Trustees, Supervisors, or other agents for the Churches."[70] He wrote to McPheeters later on: "I have never interfered, nor thought of interfering as to who shall or who shall not preach in any Church, nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority."[71] Up to this time the President had no knowledge of the orders issued from the War Department by Secretary Stanton, however, his attention was called to the situation by the Reverend John Hogan, a Missouri Methodist preacher,[72] who wrote to Lincoln complaining of the order of the Secretary of War.[73] President Lincoln immediately wrote to Stanton, stating:

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[67] New Orleans Advocate, February 10, 1866, as cited in Leftwich, op. cit., p. 262.

[68] Annual Cyclopaedia, 1864, p. 515, as cited by Sweet, W. W., The M. E. Church and the Civil War, p. 103.

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[69] For a detailed account of this case see Leftwich, op. cit., II, pp. 93-104.
[70] Sweet, W. W., The Story of Religions in America (New York, 1930, pp. 462-463.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.; Leftwich, op. cit., I, p. 263. (Leftwich states that Hogan was also a member of Congress from St. Louis).

> After having made these declarations (to McPheeters) in good faith and in writing you can conceive of my embarrassment at now having brought to me what purports to be a formal order of the War Department, bearing date, November 30, 1863, giving Bishop Ames control and possession of all the Methodist Churches in certain Southern military departments where pastors have not been appointed by a loyal bishop or bishops . . . and ordering the military to aid him against any resistance which may be made to his taking such possession and control. What is to be done about it?[74]

This remonstrance had its effect, and Stanton modified the order so as to limit its application to states designated by the President as being in a state of rebellion. It is clear that the President was not in favor of the military intervention of Southern Methodist churches, and doubtless if he had discovered the orders in time they would have been withdrawn. The President even feared that abuses of the orders might take place in the loyal states, but stated, "it is not easy to withdraw it entirely and at once."[75] The modified orders of the War Department, with President Lincoln's endorsement, exempted the churches in the loyal states and when Bishop Ames reached St. Louis intending to direct his "ecclesiastical ram against the Rebel Methodists" of that city he was met with the new orders which "put an estoppel upon his proceedings, especially in Missouri."[76] When the church conflicts continued President Lincoln wrote to the military commander at Memphis in March, 1864, and stated: "If the military have need of the church building, let them keep it, otherwise let them get out of it, and leave it and its owners alone, except for causes that justify the arrest of any one."[77] Two months later, he wrote again to the commander: "I am told now that . . . the military put one set of men out of and another set of men into the building. This, if true, is most extraordinary. I say again, if there be no military need of the building leave it alone, neither putting one set in or out of it, except on finding some one preaching or practicing treason, in which case lay hands upon him, just as if he were doing the same thing in any other building, or in the street or highway."[78]

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[73] Leftwich, op. cit., I, p. 263.
[74] Quoted in Sweet, W. W., The Story of Religions in America, p. 464.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Leftwich, op. cit., I, p. 263.

Not only did the military authorities turn over the church property to the Northern Churches, but they attempted a military regulation of the church services and practices. The Federal military authorities generally required that prayer for the President of the United States and the Federal Government be offered in the Sabbath worship services. Ministers who refused to pray and preach "loyal" were often forbidden to hold religious services. In Huntsville, Alabama, in 1862, the Reverend Frederick A. Ross, a renowned Presbyterian minister, was arrested by General Rousseau and sent from the South for praying a "disloyal" prayer in which he said, "We pray Thee, O Lord, to bless our enemies and to remove them from our midst as seemeth good in Thy sight."[79] Throughout the duration of the war, there was a disposition on the part of some Federal officers to force ministers of Southern sympathy to pray for the success of Federal arms. In one instance, a Southern

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[77] Sweet, W. W., The Story of Religions in America, p. 464.
[78] Ibid., pp. 464-465.
[79] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama (New York, 1905), p. 228.

Methodist minister was told that he must take the oath of allegiance and pray for the President of the United States or desist from his pastoral functions. For a time he refused to do so, but finally agreed, and recounting his experience later on stated: "I prayed for the President; that the Lord would take out of him and his allies the hearts of beasts and put into them the hearts of men, or remove the cusses from office. The little captain never asked me any more to pray for the President and the United States."[80] In some cases the military commanders went so far as to send special orders to ministers of the Southern Methodist Church, ordering prayers for specific persons or things, and requiring flags to be displayed from the pulpit or church entrance. The following order is illustrative of this petty interference with the churches:

> Headquarters, Westport, Mo.
> January 31, 1863.
>
> (Special Orders, no. 10).
>
> I. It being proper that in all our supplications for the blessings of Deity the condition of our beloved but distracted country should not be overlooked; therefore, it is ordered--to the end that should any prove forgetful they may be reminded that they have a government to pray for--that during the quarterly meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, now in session in this city, the Stars and Stripes be conspicuously displayed in front of the pulpit of the church where said meeting is held.
>
> II. The pastor of said church will cause this order to be published from the pulpit of his church.
>
> By order of W. C. Ransom, Major, commanding U. S. forces at Westport, Mo.[81]

In order to save the church property to the Southern Methodists of the city, the pastor of the church and trustees executed the order.[82] In Alexandria, Virginia, one preacher was made to ride on the "cow-catcher" of a train so as to keep Mosby's Confederates from firing on the Union soldiers, and he was later forbidden to preach or celebrate the marriage ceremony.[83] The ministers of the South were generally required to swear allegiance before they could legally perform the marriage rite, "in fact, it came about that even loyal people could hardly get through the activities of a day without swearing allegiance to the State and Federal Government."[84] This "degradation" of religion reached its lowest point in Alabama, when General Woods issued orders by which Bishop Wilmer and all his clergy were suspended from their functions and forbidden to preach or perform divine services.[85] In New Orleans, General Butler announced that the clergy of the city were forbidden to pray for the success of the Confederacy and that such supplications would be punishable by military law, on the ground that such prayers "fired the southern heart," and encouraged the secessionists to hold out against the Union forces.[86] In Missouri the military authorities went so far as to close all the churches, both Protestant and Catholic, whose ministers or members were not in active sympathy with the Federal Government.[87]

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[80] Richardson, Lights and Shadows of Itinerant Life, p. 183, as cited by Ibid., p. 229.
[81] Leftwich, op. cit., I, pp. 337-338.

The idea of using the devastation of war to extend the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South met with hearty approval in the minds of the Northern Methodist people. A correspondent, writing to the Christian Advocate and Journal in 1864 stated, "I take occasion to remark, in passing, that the order of the Secretary of War, by which ministers of a loyal and patriotic Church have a free and safe access to a misguided people, is worthy of his enlightened statesmanship, and cannot fail to be highly promotive of the peace of the country."[88] Bishop Matthew Simpson, after taking a trip through Tennessee came back to say that "there was a vast field opening, which we must enter or be derelict in Christian duty."[89] Dr. Daniel Curry, editor of the Christian Advocate, announced that "here is a work for the church and for individual Christians. Never before was such a missionary field given to any portion of the Church as is here thrust upon Northern Christians; and especially our own denomination."[90] The official woman's magazine of the Northern Methodist Church approved the invasion of the South with the declaration that it was a timely move to save that section of the country from "utter barbarism" by the "infusion of a purer, liberty-loving Christianity. To delay until the rebel power is broken and the treason-polluted and blood-stained Southern Methodist church reoccupies its old fields and reorganizes its ranks with men stealing home from the rebel armies . . . would be a fatal mistake," it announced and commented further that "the true policy is to be upon the ground while society is in its chaotic state, and by the establishment of a church loyal to the Government and loyal to the ancient spirit of Methodism, draw the distinct and sharp lines between loyalty and treason."[91]

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[82] Ibid., I, pp. 337-338.
[83] Curry, J. L. M., Civil History of the Confederate States; with Some Personal Reminiscences (Richmond, 1901), pp. 179-180.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Fleming, W. L., Documentary History of Reconstruction (Cleveland, 1907), II, 223-227. Also, Wilmer, Richard H., The Recent Past: From a Southern Standpoint. Reminiscences of a Grandfather. Second Edition, New York, 1887).
[86] Daniels, W. H., History of Methodism (New York, 1880), p. 638.
[87] Curry, op. cit., pp. 179-180.

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[88] "W. T. G." in the Christian Advocate and Journal, September 8, 1864.

[89] Address by Bishop Simpson at the Anniversary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Feb. 10, 1864, as reported in the Christian Advocate and Journal, February 18, 1864.

[90] The Christian Advocate, January 18, 1866.

[91] The Ladies Repository: A Monthly Periodical, devoted to Literature and Religion, January, 1864, p. 64.

Immediately after securing the order from the War Department, Bishop Ames made a trip into the South to investigate conditions, preparatory to sending loyal ministers to take over the "deserted churches" of the Southern Methodists.[92] In January 1864, Bishop Simpson visited his "new field of labor," in Tennessee, and made preparations to organize the Church in that state.[93] Early in the same year the Missionary Board of the Methodist Church made an appropriation of $35,000 for the preliminary advance,[94] and in the last two years of the war twenty-one ordained ministers were sent within the Union lines to take possession of the churches.[95]

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, meeting in Philadelphia in 1864, gave considerable attention to the organization of the Church in the South. In their address to the Church, the bishops called attention to the fact that:

> The progress of the Federal arms has thrown open to the loyal Churches of the Union large and inviting fields of Christian enterprise and labor. In the cultivation of these fields it is natural and reasonable to expect that the Methodist Episcopal Church should occupy a prominent position. She occupied these fields once. . . For nineteen years they have been in the occupancy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the wrongful exclusion of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But her days of exclusive occupancy are ended. . . And now that the providence of God has opened her way, she should not be disobedient to her heavenly calling, but should return at the earliest practicable period.[96]

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[92] Sweet, W. W., The M. E. Church and the Civil War, p. 100.
[93] Hesseltine, W. B., "Methodism and Reconstruction in East Tennessee", in The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications (January, 1931), p. 49; Crooks, op. cit., p. 440.
[94] Sweet, W. W., "Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review (March, 1915), p. 548.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1864, pp. 278-279.

The bishops further affirmed that the Methodist Episcopal Church should never have been excluded from that portion of the United States, and should never have consented on any ground to such exclusion. They suggested that in advancing into the South, the Church should go preaching "Christ and him crucified to all classes of people . . . and welcoming back such ministers and members as were cut off from her communion without their voluntary act," yet it was "their solemn judgment that none should be admitted to her fellowship who are either slaveholders or are tainted with treason."[97] The General Conference empowered the bishops to organize as many annual conferences in the South as might seem practicable and necessary; and it decided upon three lines of movement southward: one down the Atlantic coast; one down the Mississippi River to New Orleans; and one through the central region, across Kentucky and Tennessee, and into upper Georgia and Alabama.[98] In order to make this movement bear the aspects of legitimate endeavor, the General Conference also amended the constitution of the Missionary Society, that in addition to foreign and domestic missions as before existed, a third class was provided for, namely, "missions in the United States and Territories, not included in the bounds of any of the annual conferences."[99]

Having defined the program of the Church for the South, the General Conference appointed a committee to carry the address of the body to President Lincoln at Washington. At the head of the committee was Bishop Ames, and he took advantage of the opportunity to commit Lincoln to this policy of the Church. Lincoln, however, had previously stated that he did not intend to "run the churches," and he adroitly evaded Ames' request that he give his opinion on the rights of the Northern church to the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[100]

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[97] Ibid., p. 279.
[98] Curry, Daniel, Life Story of Reverend Daniel Wasgatt Clark, D. D. Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1874), p. 203.
[99] Journal of the General Conference, 1864, pp. 197-198.

The Methodist Episcopal Church justified its entrance into the South on many grounds. In answer to the criticism of the Southerners, the Methodists of the North stated that many of the edifices occupied by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had formerly been used by the Northern Church as places of worship. The old issue of the division of property was again brought to the fore. The cry of "church stealers" was heard throughout the South, but many of the Northern Methodists asserted that the repossession of these edifices did not involve theft. The leaders of the Church contended that they were not adventurers, but that their Church had been in existence in the South since the division of 1844.[101] Soon after his arrival in 1864 in New Orleans, the Reverend John P. Newman delivered an address in which he attempted to justify the Methodist Episcopal Church in the seizure of Southern Methodist churches. He said:

> We are denounced as Church robbers, are charged with having robbed the people of the South of their Church properties. My answer is: the right of the Church property has never been disturbed, as far as we are concerned. The General Government has seen fit to seize these churches, but it has not conveyed their title to us. There has been no passing of deeds . . . If there has been any robbing, the accusation lies against the General Government. But the Government has committed no robbery. It was aware that these Churches were occupied by disloyal sympathies and by teachers disposed to inculcate treason.[102]

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[100] Crooks, op. cit., p. 397; Hesseltine, op. cit., p. 50.
[101] Western Christian Advocate, February 22, 1865.
[102] True Delta, March 28, 1864, as reported in McPherson, op. cit., p. 523.

Others argued that the occupation of the Southern churches was a temporary war measure, and did not involve theft, any more than was the seizure and occupancy of any other property in the interests of the Federal Government, for the supression of the rebellion.[103] They believed that as the military power had put them in possession of the churches, it was their duty to hold them until released by the same power.[104]

Another cause which prompted the Methodist Episcopal Church to hasten its program of work in the Southern states was the competitive activities of the Roman Catholic Church. As early as 1865, the Northern Methodist missionaries in Mississippi were of the opinion that the Roman Catholic Church was resolved to make an earnest effort to "offset the waning power of that Church in the Old World by vast acquisitions in the New."[105] The leaders of the Methodist Church in that section of the country were convinced that although the Roman Catholics had been more or less indifferent to the Negro when a slave, they would avail themselves of his full power when free. They would "establish schools, visit the sick, take care of the orphan, inculcate the peculiar dogmas, and display to full advantage all her imposing ceremonies."[106]

One of the chief reasons to be discussed later, for the Northern Methodist occupation of the South was that the Church felt that the Negroes who had been given their freedom by the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, needed their spiritual and educational assistance. General Clinton B. Fisk, addressing the Missionary Society in Steinway Hall, New York City, declared that the "South cannot provide for them. It is destitute and desolate. . . . Five thousand ministers with saddle-bags, Bible, Discipline, and Hymn-book are needed in the South and Southwest."[107] The Methodists of the North were of the opinion that the Negroes had been separated from their Church without their consent, and religious duty demanded that they go to them with an invitation to return to the Church. In 1865, the editor of the Western Christian Advocate declared:

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[103] Western Christian Advocate, August 23, 1865.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Minutes of the Mississippi Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the years 1865 and 1866, p. 12.

[106] Ibid., p. 12.

> There are millions of freedmen there who remember her [the Methodist Episcopal Church] as their spiritual mother of their ancestors, who love her for her love of liberty, and who had no part in the schism of 1844, but were led out of the Church by their chains. There are . . . thousands . . . who would fain die in the old homestead; there are souls to be saved there, and that settles the question that it is our duty to go there with the offer of Christ and his salvation.[108]

The same opinion was expressed by the Board of Managers of the Church Extension Society of the Northern Methodist Church. They announced that "four millions of freedmen, who have hitherto owned nothing, not even themselves, are struggling up into freedom, intelligence, and Christian civilization," and are the "subjects of missionary labor as any who are without God and without hope in the world."[109]

Bishop Clark of the Northern Church was firm in the belief that the Church should lose no time in the reoccupation of the Southern territory. In a letter to the Western Christian Advocate in 1865, he claimed that God "as much calls us to go into these Southern States, bearing our missionary banners, as he does into China or India."[110] Reports printed in the Northern Methodist periodicals encouraged the leaders of the Church in the view that scores of people in the South were clamoring for the privilege to return to the "Mother Church." An observer in the South reported that in "East Tennessee some 5,000 laymen and nearly thirty ministers have dissolved allegiance to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and propose to unite with the Methodist Episcopal Church."[111] Claiming that the loyal people of the South were "transferred into the Church South without their consent," and that others "were led astray by their leaders," these people could not remain with a Church that has identified herself with the rebellion."[112] The mission of the Church was said to have been one to a people "asking for ministrations . . . to sheep without a shepherd . . . and her ministers came not as intruders, but as invited by the people to whom they came," and the loyal people of the South "hailed with joy the privilege of returning to the old fold, and were ready to receive with open arms these who had come to receive them back. again."[113] The editor of the Western Christian Advocate claimed that the Southern Methodists in Missouri had come over to the Northern Methodists, placed their church property at their disposal, and that their return to the fold was so rapid that presiding elders in that region were scarcely able to supply the ministers demanded.[114]

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[107] The Christian Advocate, January 17, 1867.

[108] Western Christian Advocate, June 7, 1865.

[109] Third Annual Report of the Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1868, p. 8.

Another reason offered for the extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church into Southern territory was that the South was woefully lacking in church accommodations. It was reported by Northern Methodist missionaries that in the country districts of the South one-half of the churches did not have a pane of glass in the windows, and scarcely one in ten, a stove or fire-place.[115] Some of the Northern Methodists were concerned over the fact that in some counties a Protestant church could not be found. According to the statement of an agent of the American Bible Society, one-half of the white families in a county in Northern Georgia had never been visited by a preacher.[116] The Reports of the Church Extension Society of the Methodist Church, North, pictured the religious conditions of the South in a shocking and alarming manner, which no doubt engendered a tremendous enthusiasm for the southern movement. Many of the church edifices of that section of the country were described as "brush harbors or the mere shell of a building,"[117] and that in the winter months few services were held in the rural districts of the Gulf States. Many county seats were reported to be without churches of any denomination.[118]

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[110] Western Christian Advocate, January 25, 1865.
[111] Ibid., June 7, 1865.
[112] Ibid., January 4, 1865.
[113] Curry, op. cit., p. 204.
[114] Western Christian Advocate, February 22, 1865.

Another cause which prompted the Methodist Episcopal Church to invade the South was the belief that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was largely responsible for the rebellion, and that as Northern arms had triumphed, it meant a speedy destruction of the Southern Church. As to the charge that the Southern Church had aided and supported the rebellion, there was very little diversity of opinion in the North. In 1863, Reverend A. S. Graves of the Northern Church, declared:

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[115] Ibid., January 5, 1870.
[116] _Sixth Annual Report of the Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church_, 1871, pp. 71-72.
[117] _Ibid._
[118] _Fifth Annual Report of the Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church_, 1870, p. 58.

> It is probably not too much to say that no single division of a political party, no division of any other Church, has had equal influence directly and remotely in bringing about the state of things under which we now suffer as that one which resulted in the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. And when the Methodist Episcopal Church shall go over these fields transformed by the war from the cursed wastes of slavery to the area of freedom, gathering up both the spoils and fruits of this rebellion, it will be but reaping where it has sown, and gathering where it has strewed.[119]

When the remnants of the Southern Church in Missouri met in conference in 1865, and declared their intention to maintain their independent existence as a church organization, stating that they were not willing to become "**political hucksters**" like the Northern Methodists, Dr. Daniel Curry stated that the Southern Church had plunged "neck and heels into the politics of slavery and rebellion. Its preachers made the South ring with their exhortations to insurrection; they entered into the rebel army, and they converted their Book Concern into an arsenal."[120] When Bishop Ames began to organize the invasion of the South, the editor of the Chicago Tribune endorsed the movement in the following words:

> It is on account of the influence of the Southern pulpit having been used to encourage treason and perpetuate tyranny that we rejoice to see Bishop Ames in the field . . . any church South that has a traitor in its pulpit needs purification. Loyal men should be placed in the pulpits. The church property should be restored to loyal men . . . Church organizations should be broken up when those

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[119] Christian Advocate and Journal, December 10, 1863.
[120] Ibid., August 10, 1865.

> organizations tend to promote treason and subvert free government. It is a curious paradox that we may send a traitor to prison, or hang him at the gallows, confiscate his property . . . but we must not touch that traitor when he wears a white neck tie and gown, nor confiscate his property . . . We are glad to see Bishop Ames on his religious march . . . let him go on quenching the fiery darts of ministerial traitors.[121]

W. G. "Parson" Brownlow, of Tennessee, was certain that the Southern Methodists had a great deal to do with the events leading up to the Civil War. He stated in 1864 that "we did not know then, as we have learned since, that Bishop Capers of South Carolina, was closeted with John C. Calhoun at Washington, forty-eight hours, arranging the details for this opening wedge to the dissolution of the Union."[122] In the same year he wrote to the Northwestern Christian Advocate declaring that:

> The Church South has become an apostate church departing from the fundamental, moral principles of the ten commandments . . . we now find SIX Southern Methodist Bishops . . . have been shamefully disloyal to the country . . . God's retribution is now upon the Southern Methodist Church to the full. In Missouri their conferences are disbanded. In their Kentucky conferences they are in almost the same condition. In Tennessee the conferences are disjointed and disbanded. Their leading ministers are rebels and have fled to the South, and dare not return . . . Their publishing house at Nashville is in court for confiscation, and ought to be taken from them, because used as a wicked instrument to carry on the rebellion.[123]

When an agent of the Methodist Book Concern at Nashville declared that he would fall upon his knees to beseech the South to rise up against the inauguration of President Lincoln, Parson Brownlow fell upon him with the statement that he was not paid by the Church to utter treasonable words against the constitution of the United States.[124] When a South Carolinian cancelled his subscription to Brownlow's *Knoxville Whit*, and exclaimed, "Secession now and forever! So say the Methodists of South Carolina,"[125] the Parson warned him: "You may go out in the rickety boats of your little State, and hoist your miserable *Cabbage Leaf* of a Palmetto flag; but depend upon it, men and brethren, you will be dashed to pieces on the rocks."[126] He urged the Methodist ministers of South Carolina to stand by the *Discipline* and constitution of their church which required loyalty to the civil government. He declared that if the Southern Methodist Church "concludes, as a Church, to become the champion of Secession, and to engage in the hell-begotten work of breaking up this Government, we have no further use for such an organization," and as for the ministers who would make political speeches for the Confederacy, Brownlow stated that he "would as soon listen to a drunken blackguard in a doggery."[127] He asserted that he "should feel more honored to be associated with a pack of Professional Gamblers than with a Conference of Methodist Rebel preachers."[128] All Southern Methodists were considered by the Parson as traitors, and he prayed that he might be saved from any connection "in this world or the world to come" with such a "pack of Scoundrels."[129] The rebellious sentiment of the Methodist Church in East Tennessee during the war, had been outrageous in the eyes of Parson Brownlow. As editor of the Knoxville Whig, he blistered the Southern Church on every occasion, and he declared in 1863:

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[121] The Chicago Tribune as quoted in the Northwestern Christian Advocate, February 24, 1864.
[122] Ibid., June 8, 1864.
[123] Ibid.

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[124] *Knoxville Whig*, October 13, 1860, as cited by Hesseltine, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[125] Brownlow, W. G., "*Sketches of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Secession; with a Narrative of Personal Adventures among the Rebels*, (Philadelphia, 1862), p. 37; (Binder's title: *Parson Brownlow's Book*), and hereafter cited.

[126] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[127] *Knoxville Whig*, February 21, 1861, as cited by Hesseltine, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[128] *Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator*, January 3, 1864, as cited by Hesseltine, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

> They have aided in the work of devastating the country; they have contributed to fill the land with mourning; they have caused tears of thousands of widows to flow, they have done their full part, in handing to posterity an army of orphan children; they have aided materially in filling thousands of graves with the best citizens of the country, North and South; and fearful to relate they have mainly contributed to send thousands to hell, who might have been redeemed by the blood of Christ, but for this war! We can never hear one of these base hypocrites preach, if we can get beyond the sound of his hateful voice.[130]

Violence in language and action characterized Brownlow's attitude toward the Southern Methodists for the next half dozen years. He plainly informed the Southern Methodists that the Federal soldiers would be returning to their homes in East Tennessee, "with both the mind and means for tolerating little from the Rebel Methodists."[131] One soldier regulator declared, "We Federal soldiers regard horse thieves and the Southern Methodist Church as the only two rebel organizations but what surrendered with Lee's army."[132] Brownlow characterized the Southern Holston Conference at Marion, Virginia, in September 1865, as nothing better than a "Rebel Court Martial," and his periodical urged the Northern Methodists of East Tennessee to "show no quarters to traitors and treason." He declared that the Southern Methodist Church was a "political rebel organiza-

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129 Ibid., January 30, 1864.
130 Coulter, E. Merton, William G. Brownlow--Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands (Chapel Hill, 1937), p. 295.
131 Ibid., p. 298.
132 Ibid.

tion"[133] and so utterly worthless and depraved were the preachers of that Church that he was not sure that they should be allowed to assume their pastoral functions in that part of the country. Of them he said, "With souls panting, no doubt, for spiritual comfort and refreshment, these lovers of Southern religion will groan around the altars of these pious divines."[134] The Parson held that all Confederate Methodists were a depraved set of people and were wicked beyond all comparison. He observed that they had held a religious picnic and had "amused themselves mostly by fiddling and dancing."[135] As long as Brownlow published the Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator the Southern Methodists were held up to its readers as the worst element in all rebeldom, and relentlessly pursued by this publication.[136]

Parson Brownlow was not alone in the accusation that the Southern Methodists were largely responsible for the rebellion. It was also the case in Missouri where "for some reason the leading ministers of the Church, South, were looked upon as the very ring-leaders of the Southern revolt against the Government."[137] A Kentucky writer stated that "every religious newspaper of the Rebel States,--and they were all edited by ministers of the Gospel,--located at Nashville, New Orleans, Fayetteville, Richmond, and other cities, urged secession in most cases from the first step in the movement, and in all at a very early period. And the houses of worship of all denominations, from first to last, have echoed the utterances of treason and rebellion from the pulpit in all parts of the South.[138] The editor of the Northwestern Christian Advocate supported others in accusations agains the Southern Church. He declared "the ministers of the South have been among the chief instigators and defenders of rebellion. They have brought odium on the religion of Jesus by claiming that human bondage was a Christian institution, and treason a Christian duty."[139] The Reverend T. H. Pearne, one of the early organizers of the Northern Church in East Tennessee, reported to the Western Christian Advocate in 1865 a rumor that the Southern Methodist Publishing House at Nashville was converted, "with the approval, if not at the instance of the agents into an official engineery for manufacturing munitions of war for the now defunct Confederacy," and added that "when Nashville was occupied by our troops the house was employed for holding military supplies."[140] One of the expelled ministers of the Southern Church, who was "arrested four times by the Church, South," for his loyalty, declared that he would "sooner live and die out of the Church, and be unburied, than to be in connection with the Church South. But for the clergy of the Church South this rebellion would have never occurred. The power of the politicians was comparatively circumscribed; but when the clergy undertook, in co-operation with them, to render the nation, an influence was wielded which reached to every hamlet and fireside."[141] "Faithful to their evil tradition," Dr. Daniel Curry of the

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[133] Ibid., p. 298.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid., pp. 295-296.
[137] Leftwich, op. cit., I, p. 357. Leftwich states that so general was this belief among the officers of the Union army, "that whoever escaped their surveillance had to prove a negative in the face of the most unwarranted and unfounded presumptions of guilt, supported and flanked by the deepest rooted prejudices and the most blinded passion. Nor is this putting the case too strongly. It is not in excess of the facts." Ibid.
[136] Ibid.

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[138] Stanton, R. L., The Church and the Rebellion: A Consideration of the Rebellion against the Government of the United States; and the Agency of the Church, North and South, in Relation Thereto (New York, 1864), p. 174.
[139] Northwestern Christian Advocate, January 27, 1864.
[140] Western Christian Advocate, June 7, 1865; Pearne, T. H., Sixty-One Years of Itinerant Christian Life in Church and State (Cincinnati, 1899), p. 312.
[141] Pearne, op. cit., p. 291.

Christian Advocate and Journal, declared, "it is also well known that the Southern Methodists have been among the most violent secessionists and promoters of the attempted division of our country."[142] In addressing the loyal Methodists of Virginia in 1867, F. H. Pierpoint, the reconstruction Governor of that state declared that there was a great need of building up loyal church organizations in that region and urged them to proceed with all haste. His reason was that "the spirit of the Southern pulpit is thoroughly disloyal--active in the propagandism of rebel sentiment, and in cherishing a hope that 'the lost cause' may be regained by the destruction of the republican Government in this country." He told his listeners: "I regard the establishment of loyal churches throughout the South as the great means of counteracting this influence."[143]

There was no doubt on the part of many in the Northern Methodist Church that the Southern organization, built upon the foundations of slavery and rebellion, would perish after the war. "The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is dead," wrote a correspondent to one of the Methodist periodicals, "stung in its vitals by the treason it was instrumental in originating, and withered by the power of God."[144] In 1863, the Reverend A. S. Graves declared:

> The striking correspondence of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Southern Confederacy furnishes us satisfactory assurances that they are very closely enjoined in destiny. As they have stood, so must they ultimately fall together . . . The former no more than the latter can stand if slavery be smitten. In fact the Church is given evidences of a premature decay. Already it is surrounded and isolated from Christen-

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[142] Christian Advocate and Journal, May 11, 1865.
[143] Western Christian Advocate, July 31, 1867.
[144] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, pp. 306-307.

> dom by the rising waters that must engulf it. . . These are some of the reasons why the Methodist Episcopal Church without arrogance, may claim to have special interest in the South when, with the return of peace, it shall be opened as a field for the triumphs of Christianity. Under the primitive and not obsolete commission, 'the world is my parish,' we should be warranted in taking it by preoccupancy . . . there is to be given in the providence of God to the Methodist Episcopal Church the opportunity to erect again on her former extended border her old landmarks, and recover the whole of those sequestered lands over which she may spread scriptural holiness.[145]

"That the triumph of our national arms must doom to ultimate if not speedy dissolution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, there can be no doubt," argued Reverend John Lanahan of the Northern Methodist Church, "the bolt from heaven which ends it [slavery] shall inflict upon them a deadly wound . . . The Siamese twins [slavery and Southern Methodism] must go to one grave."[146] He added that once slavery was eliminated, the one great barrier which had obstructed the path of the Church would be removed, and "it becomes her duty to go forth and reoccupy the South."[147] Another correspondent, "Methodist", from Portsmouth, Virginia, wrote to the Christian Advocate and Journal in 1865, and expressed the opinion that "with the restoration of the authority of the government over the rebellious states, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as an ecclesiastical body, will inevitably collapse." . . . "How can it be otherwise?" he asked. "Slavery is dead . . . and as a natural consequence the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, will expire with it. God in his infinite mercy roll on the happy hour . . ."[148]

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[145] Christian Advocate and Journal, December 10, 1863.
[146] Ibid., April 6, 1865.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid., February 16, 1865.

That the prevailing sentiment of the Southern Methodist Church was pro-southern and in sympathy with the rebellion can scarcely be denied. The Church pledged hearty support to the Confederate government, but little evidence can be found on the subject.[149] One authority states that in 1860 the political leaders were anxious to have the Alabama Conference declare its sentiment in regard to the state of the country, but that this move was strongly opposed and frustrated by Bishops Soule and Andrew, who desired to keep the Church out of politics.[150] The New York World reported in 1860 that a meeting of Methodist ministers in Montgomery, Alabama, declared in favor of secession from the Union.[151] In 1863, a large body of Southern Protestant ministers from most of the states met, and prepared a statement entitled, "The Address of the Confederate Clergy to Christians throughout the World." The address declared that the war was being waged to achieve that which it was impossible to achieve by violence, namely, to restore the Union. It protested against the action of the North in forcing the war upon the Southern states and condemned the action of Lincoln as indicated in the Emancipation Proclamation. It also made a lengthy defense of the principles for which the Southern people were fighting.[152]

At the close of the Civil War, the internal condition of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was such as to cause serious misgivings concerning its future existence. Its administration was completely disorganized.[153] As previously stated, Parson Brownlow declared that very little hope remained for the Southern organization in Tennessee. One Northern Methodist minister in Missouri in 1863 had already described the disorganized condition of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in that state, and he was so sure of the impotency of the Southern organization that he issued a circular calling for Northern Methodist emigration to Missouri. This state of affairs was an "hour of opportunity" for the Methodist Episcopal Church, and "once gone, this golden hour may come no more." He stated that the "hireling shepherds have fled, leaving their deluded flocks . . . In many places the way is clear; deserted church edifices want preachers, scattered flocks demand true shepherds, wandering souls call for guidance, the people call for loyal and pious pastors."[154] Another correspondent wrote that "hundreds of churches and a thousand settlements in Missouri and Arkansas are now as destitute of the Gospel as in China, and in some cases these people are as ignorant." He addressed himself to the young men of the East and declared that "if you want to win crowns such as Wesley, and Asbury, and M'Kendree wear, come out here and cast your lot with this people, now needing the Gospel . . . and needing it as no other spot on the footstool needs it."[155] The Christian Advocate of New York, in its issue of March 16, 1865, referring to conditions in the Southern Church, said: "So far as we can ascertain, most of its Conferences are virtually broken up, its circuit system is generally abandoned, its appointments without preachers to a great extent, and its local societies are in utter confusion. Its Book Concern is overthrown; its Missionary Society, Sunday-School Union, and most of its other Church enterprises without power, if not without form. All has been submerged in the general wreck of the South."[156] The General Conference of the Southern Church, scheduled to meet in 1862, did not meet until after the war in 1866.[157] In 1865 it was reported that Bishop Soule in Tennessee had had no word from the other bishops for four years.[158] The Texas Conference had not seen a bishop of the Southern Church for over four years.[159] Many of the Annual Conferences had not been able to meet during the war, and those that had held sessions were poorly attended.[160] In many sections of the South the lines of communication had been destroyed, and the whole system of the itineracy was disrupted.

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[149] Fleming, W. L., "Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama (New York, 1905), p. 223.
[150] Smith G. G., Life and Letters of James Osgood Andrew, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, (Nashville, 1883), p. 473.
[151] New York World, December 26, 1860.
[152] McPherson, op. cit., p. 591.
[153] Farish, op. cit., p. 27.

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[154] Christian Advocate and Journal, June 25, 1863.
[155] Ibid., March 24, 1864.

The institutions of the Southern Methodist Church were equally disorganized. All of the *Advocates* of the Church had been forced to suspend publication during the war.[161] The printing presses and Publishing House property at Nashville were seized by the Federal army when that city was captured in 1862. The property was so damaged during the war that the Federal Government thirty-three years later allowed $280,000 for damages and rent, this being about fifty per cent of the amount claimed by the Church.[162] Most of the educational institutions had been forced to close their doors, their property abandoned and deteriorated in value, and their endowments partially or totally swept away.[163] The loss in church property was large. Many churches had been burned; others had been confiscated by the Union army and used as hospitals, warehouses, and stables.[164] Before the Northern Methodists were able to conduct worship services in the McKendree Church at Nashville, the quartermaster of the Union army was compelled to refurnish the church. The building had been dismantled when the army took possession of it, and "the seats were gone, carpets had disappeared--in fact the entire interior had to be reconstructed."[165] Every one of the Methodist churches in Knoxville had either been destroyed or damaged by the military forces.[166]

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[156] As quoted by Farish, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
[157] McTyeire, *op. cit.*, p. 664.
[158] Letter of "Reynard" in the New York *Christian Advocate*, July 20, 1865, as cited by Farish, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
[159] Smith, G. G. Jr., *The History of Methodism in Georgia and Florida, 1785 to 1865* (Macon, 1877), p. 490.
[160] McTyeire, *op. cit.*, p. 664.
[161] Farish, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.
[162] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.
[163] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

The Southern Church had lost a great number of its membership during the period of hostilities. By the end of the war there had been a decrease of thirty per cent of the membership as given in the year 1860.[167] The loss of white members during the struggle amounted to over one hundred and thirteen thousand. The white membership of 1860 was 542,489; in 1866 the number was reduced to 429,233.[168]

The general destruction of the South by the ravages of war left the membership of the Southern Methodist Church in extreme poverty. Many of them returned from the army to find their homes destroyed, their fields laid waste, and their live stock carried away or starving. The loss of wealth invested in slaves had seriously affected the economic status of many Methodists, but this was by no means the only cause of economic distress. Crop failures added to the general poverty for two or three years after the war, notably in Alabama and Georgia, and in many districts the people were facing starvation. The poverty was so extreme in some sections that the people were unable to contribute to the support of a pastor, and many of the Methodist preachers appeared at their appointments on foot, dressed in the "rough jeans" of the period. Many of the pastors of the Southern Church were forced into secular pursuits in order to make a living.[169]

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[164] Ibid., p. 29.
[165] Crooks, op. cit., p. 441.
[166] Farish, op. cit., p. 29.
[167] Luccock and Hutchinson, op. cit., p. 342.
[168] McTyeire, op. cit., p. 670.

A serious threat to the continued existence of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was the belief held by many, even among the members of the Southern Church, that in this disorganized state, the organization would be unable to continue. Acting upon this assumption, other church organizations made overtures to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, urging its incorporation into their Churches. Some of the Southern Methodists favored union with the Protestant Episcopalians, and before the administration of the Church was put in order again, some of the Episcopal leaders of the North sought to take over the Southern membership.[170] Others were of the opinion that the whole Southern Methodist Church should go over to the Methodist Episcopal Church in a body, and many members were reported to have gone over to the Northern Church "under the impression that Southern Methodism was dead."[171]

For a number of years following the Civil War the church papers of both branches of Methodism were filled with discussions relating to the reconstruction of Methodism in the South. Reconstruction in the Church was closely related to reconstruction in the State, and was so considered by the reconstructionists of both.[172] Many in the Northern Church were guided by the "same mistaken, intolerant policy" as was followed by the political leaders in the reconstruction of the states, namely, that the southern whites were incapable of honest and good action.[173] Bishop Clark, addressing a group of Northern Methodists in East Tennessee in 1865, asserted that one of the chief reasons why the Methodist Episcopal Church "could not stay out of the South" was that it was needed in the reconstruction of Methodism in that region. He declared:

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[169] Farish, op. cit., pp. 30-32. (Farish gives a detailed account of the condition of the Southern Methodist Church at the close of the Civil War).
[170] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 637.
[171] Nashville Christian Advocate, April 4, 1867, as cited in Farish, op. cit., p. 33.
[172] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 652.

> If we refuse to respond to these calls from East Tennessee and elsewhere . . . the effect would be to leave to the men, who have not been with the Government of the United States in its fearful struggle against rebellion, the work of reorganization of the Church. Now, if there is any class of men in the South who should take part in the rebuilding of the Church and State, it is the loyal portion. I do not feel that we should subject them to this deprivation.[174]

In an editorial entitled "Church Reconstruction in Rebeldom" Dr. Daniel Curry, the editor of the Christian Advocate and Journal, stated that he was of the opinion that the Methodist Episcopal Church "owes it to herself and to the people of the South, to enter into and occupy all that country" independently of the local Methodism. He further declared that "our Church must spread its institution over all the southern states . . . and sharply define its antagonism to the spurious local Methodism of the country."[175] On another occasion Bishop Clark discussed the subject of Methodist reorganization in the South. In referring to the membership of the McKendree Church in Nashville, which was representative of the outstanding Methodists of the South, he said:

> The great body of them are traitors, in fact, and

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[173] Ibid., p. 652.
[174] Western Christian Advocate, June 1, 1865.
[175] Christian Advocate and Journal, February 9, 1865.

> have gone through the lines South. . . . The great proportion of those who have remained are traitors at heart, no matter how many times they may have taken the oath to secure amnesty privileges. These men look to the reorganization of the Southern Methodist Church. They will attempt reorganization at the earliest practicable period. Then the issue will be joined. A loyal Methodist Church will be set over a disloyal. No pretense can disguise or conceal the plain issue. . . . And I mistake the tone of public sentiment, if the joining of the issue is not a prelude to a speedy and decisive triumph of that Christianity which is true to both God and Country. . . . What then, is our hope in Tennessee. It is not in winning back the old rotten and ruined aristocracy. . . . They are not too deeply steeped in treason for any medicine to work their cure. . . . To win such persons back to the bosom of the Church is to plant in her very vitals the elements of moral and spiritual weakness and ruin.[176]

A similar view was expressed by the Committee on the "Reconstruction of the Church" in the South by the New England Conference of the Northern Church in 1865. "We must shun," they said, "the temptation of making the former Church the center around which we shall reorganize our own." They were of the opinion that the Southern Church had been leagued with detestable sin; its ministers and people incapacitited for the work of social and religious regeneration of the South, and their "apostate Church should be eliminated." The Committee stated that "they are unworthy of renewing the land in righteousness which they have so long made less tolerable than Sodom and Gomorrah. . . . As well might Judas and Caiaphas have become members of the apostolic college, as for the bishops of the Church, South, to re-enter in their former state the Church they have sought to destroy. The words of David and Peter are our guides in each case here: 'His bishopric let another take.'"[177] At its 1866 session, the New England Conference stated that to "regard" even a seeming recognition of that Southern organization as a branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church" was unwise and contrary to justice and piety.[178] The West Wisconsin Conference passed a resolution in 1865 stating that to accept the Southern Church back into the fold of Methodism "would be countenancing sin, and tend to the impurity of the Church."[179] The Wisconsin Conference was opposed to accepting the Southerners *en masse*, since the leaders of the Church had not shown evidence of penitence and reformation.[180]

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[176] Western Christian Advocate, as quoted in the Christian Advocate and Journal, February 9, 1865.

[177] Christian Advocate and Journal, April 27, 1865.

The *Zion's Herald*, edited by Dr. Daniel Wise and later on by Reverend Gilbert Haven, and published in Boston, gave full expression to the theories of religious reconstruction in the South. Dr. Wise stated in 1865 that to "admit the conferences and societies of the Church South to our fellowship in bodies . . . would be the beginning of a strife which would first convulse and then destroy the Church. It is worse than folly to talk of accepting their professions of loyalty and antislavery as conditions of their reception: who believes in southern professions? Those Southern Methodists have blood upon their skirts, and treason stains their reputation."[181] In 1866, he expressed himself again on the subject: "Can Northern Methodists consistently stretch out the hand of fellowship to these men and say 'we be brethren; let us join hands?' Never, while sympathy with oppression is sin, treason a crime, and the Scriptures say, 'Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them.'"[182]

A Western view concerning the reconstruction of the Southern Church is given in a letter to the Christian Advocate and Journal, in 1865, by J. J. Fleharty, who stated:

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[178] *Ibid.*, May 10, 1866, p

[179] *Christian Advocate and Journal*, October 12, 1865.

[180] Sweet, W. W., *Methodism in American History*, p. 306.

[181] *Christian Advocate and Journal*, June 8, 1865.

[182] *Zion's Herald* as quoted by *Ibid.*, June 7, 1866.

> Can we receive such men into the Church fellowship. Shall we unite with the men who led the great slave-holders rebellion? Take them to our bosoms that they may wound us near the seat of life? Shall we welcome to our communion men who gloated over the murder of Anthony Bewley, and smile complacently upon the mob which broke up a session of conference presided over by Bishop Janes? . . . We refuse the holy eucharist to liars and thieves, drunkards and adulterers; what of the men guilty of treason? Shall they be at once welcome to the table of the Lord? Would not such conduct be odious in the sight of the Lord?[183]

One correspondent writing to a Methodist periodical in the North advocated a general movement of northern influence into the South with the Church so that the work of reconstruction might be complete in all its phases. He wrote:

> The minds of the southern people must be relieved of prejudices of deep and long standing. The pulpit, the press, and the rostrum have thoroughly educated these people in the principles of slavery. And, like the sap that dwells in the roots of a tree, the deadly virus is ready to break out at every bud. . . . fathers and pastors will whisper the divinity of slavery and treason in the ears of their children. Nor have these southern people yet learned to respect the northern character very highly, much less to love a people they have been taught to look upon as socially and intellectually their inferiors. The Southern people must be brought in direct contact with northern character. . . . The Yankee preacher, school-teacher, capitalist, and mechanic, as well as the Yankee clock peddler must be introduced into southern society, especially a good and liberal supply of preachers and school teachers. We suggest . . . that mission conferences be organized in the South . . . let the work of reconstruction commence at once and in good earnest. . . . To talk of redeeming Methodism in the South by pro-slavery and traitorous men would be as ridiculous as

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[183] Christian Advocate and Journal, June 22, 1865.

> for the government to raise an army of South Carolina traitors to quell rebellion and reconstruct the Southern States.[184]

To those Methodists who were undecided as to the fate of their Church one leader of the Northern body in 1864, addressed himself to them and urged them to return to the fold of the "mother Church." His appeal appeared in the Central Christian Advocate (St. Louis) of August 24, 1864, giving his reasons for their return. He wrote:

> Your Church is suspected of disloyalty, and the suspicion is not ill-founded, if human acts furnish any criterion by which to judge of men's thoughts and characters. If the South succeeds and the government is destroyed your Church may again flourish. If our government succeeds your Church will live in languor, and die by the crushing weight of accumulated and increasing dishonor and shame. Your ministers have been disloyal almost without exception, and are now actively engaged in promoting civil war or infamously carping at all the acts of our principal men. Disloyalty breathes in their prayers, protrudes itself from their sermons, and vitiates all their ministrations. There is not a solitary reason why any loyal man should remain in such a Church. It has no distinguishing feature now, and never had, except its shameful advocacy of human slavery. . . . The pastors who originally sold out to the conspirators, who were even then plotting against the life of the government, do not deserve our esteem nor support. Nearly all of them are guilty of their country's blood, and this scandal, this offense against God, will increase in shame, and curse the third and fourth generation of the unfortunate posterity who bear the talented names of Southern Methodist preachers. . . . The taint of treason stains this whole sectional pro-slavery Church, and you will be suspected and injured in business and character while you remain connected with an organization hopelessly prostituted to the infamous purpose of destroying the republic for the sake of slavery. Your duty is plain. Leave the pastors who have deceived you . . . Come back to the true Methodist standard and to the

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[184] Letter of "N" in the Christian Advocate and Journal, May 25, 1865.

> bosom of the Church from which many of you were dragged contrary to your will. You will have occasion to repent every hour you delay this duty. We would gladly receive you if you are loyal citizens, and opposed to human bondage.[185]

Immediately following the Civil War there was considerable discussion in the Church papers concerning a union of the Methodist bodies, North and South, and if the Northern Church had shown a more charitable spirit towards the Southern Methodists, a reconciliation might have been effected. The editor of the Methodist Review of the Northern Church stated in 1873 that "Immediately after the war and the reestablishment of the weeklies of the Church, South, we discovered in their columns a spirit of repentence, of conciliation and reunion, that inspired a just hope that, immediately appreciated and accepted, it might lead to early unification in Church as well as in State."[186] Dr. J. B. McFerrin of the Church, South, wanted the whole organization of the Southern Church to be received back into the Methodist Episcopal Church. In a letter written to his wife, May 29, 1865, Bishop Clark said:

> On Saturday we had interviews with Gov. Brownlow and various other persons. But none were more notable than with Rev. J. B. M'Ferrin, D. D., the Book Agent of the Church South. He was surrendered with Johnson's army. He had reached Nashville, and taken the amnesty oath only the day before. . . . He seeks consolidation of the whole Church, but wants the Church, South to be received back as a whole, with her bishops and other officers in their official positions. . . . We did not give him much encouragement.[187]

Reverend M. French, a chaplain in the army of General Saxton, and one of the early Methodist missionaries in South Carolina who had expressed contempt for the Southern Church, wrote to the *Christian Advocate and Journal* at New York, on June 7, 1865, and said: "My heart and views have both changed since learning their impoverishment and heart-sickening condition. Now I would advise that every member of the Church which the government will take back in government membership our Church should receive back, bishops and all. . . . They cannot do the Church any harm. Our Church may do them all great good."[188]

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[185] Dr. Crary in the Central Christian Advocate, August 24, 1864, as quoted in the Christian Advocate and Journal, September 1, 1864.
[186] The Methodist Review (January, 1873), IV, pp. 321-334, as cited in Farish, op. cit., p. 40.
[187] Curry, Daniel, Life-Story of Reverend David Wasgatt Clark, D. D. Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1874), p. 205.

Dr. Abel Stevens of the Northern Church was an advocate, for a time, for the acceptance of the Southern Church *en masse*,[189] but his tolerant attitude toward the question was opposed by the more radical element in the Northern body. The Reverend Thomas H. Pearne criticized Dr. Stevens for his position on the reconstruction of the Church, declaring, "As I understand him, he favors a general 'healing,' which shall take, bodily, the ministry and membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, into our Church, continuing in their former and present official positions bishops, editors, and book agents. His plan of doing this is not by their entrance 'through the door' as others come. He would have the side of the house taken down to admit them *en masse*, . . . I object to Dr. Steven's plan. . . . Slavery and rebellion and crimes. *Bishops, editors, and book agents of the Church South have been deeply involved in both. The proof is abundant. Slavery is not dead* . . . Rebellion is, indeed, disarmed; but its hideous spirit still lives in the

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[188] Letter of Rev. M. French, Beaufort, S. C., June, 7, 1865, to the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, June 22, 1865.

[189] Letter of Dr. Stevens to the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, June 8, 1865.

South."[190] Calling attention to the tremendous cost of a program of absorption, the Methodist Review advocated waiting "with an economical masterly inactivity for time and brotherly kindness, and careful fair dealing, and generous aids to convert the solid Southern church to quite as good a Methodism as we could ever hope to substitute in her place."[191] This lenient policy of The Methodist Review was opposed by the Reverend R. M. Hatfield. He said: "Taking the drift of The Methodist, and some things I hear of the outgiving of certain of our Church dignitaries, it looks as if the 'conservatives' among us had learned almost nothing from this war. I had hoped that we were done with war in the Church, but if these brethren propose to deal 'magnanimously' with these Methodist rebels, and allow them to slip back into the Church unchallenged, why we must buckle on the armor again."[192]

After John P. Newman had been sent to New Orleans to take over the Southern Methodist Churches in that city, he shortly arranged a meeting with several Southern Methodist preachers in Mobile, Alabama, to discuss the work of reorganization and reconstruction of the Church. He stated that their meeting at first "was by no means cordial," but after a better understanding "of each other, it terminated in a becoming Christian spirit." During the conversation of the meeting Newman gathered some impressions which the Southern ministers held concerning the policy of the Northern Church in that region. He wrote to the Christian Advocate and Journal:

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[190] Letter of T. H. Pearne, of Knoxville, Tenn. to the Christian Advocate and Journal, June 29, 1865.
[191] Methodist Quarterly Review (October, 1865), XLVII, pp. 629-636.
[192] The Christian Advocate and Journal, June 8, 1865.

> There was much hardness of feeling on their part, and no little suspicion. It was lamentable to hear their recital of what they had been led to believe was the spirit and intention of our Church. Had we been Mohammedans worse things could not have been said of us. Cut off from communication from the North, they had depended upon rumor for intelligence, and, abandoned to themselves, they had allowed their imagination to magnify the rumors. . . . Our bishops had been represented to them as Church robbers, and our ministers in the South as blood-thirsty crusaders against their Church, while the whole Methodist body of the North was actuated by the same spirit.[193]

During the meeting with the Southern brethren, Newman reached some conclusions as to future policy of the Northern Church in the South, namely, that the "authorities of our Church should make overtures for a reunion to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on two general conditions, (loyalty to the government and acceptance of the anti-slavery doctrine of our Church), should these conditions be rejected, then let the Methodist Episcopal Church plant a loyal living church in every city and hamlet of the South."[194] Another "frontier" worker of the Northern Church in Georgia likewise expressed an opinion that he thought overtures from the Northern Church might result in reunion of the Churches. He stated in a letter to the Christian Advocate and Journal that "my opinion is, that if the Methodist Episcopal Church would make liberal and friendly overtures, the majority of the Methodist people South would fraternize with the old Church again."[195]

While the future of the Southern Methodist Church was being discussed in the Northern periodicals, the leaders of that Church quickly resolved that it must live, and they soon showed a determination to reorganize their Church and make it a vital factor in the lives of its constituency. The first indication of this determination was shown as early as June 1865 in the form of the "Palmyra Manifesto." This document, prepared by a group of Missouri ministers, under the leadership of Reverend Andrew Monroe, was a sort of manifesto against those who wished to absorb the Southern organization.[196] The report announced the judgment of the leaders that they considered a separate and distinct ecclesiastical organization necessary and imperative. After a lengthy discussion of the differences between the two bodies, the report declared that to admit that these differences had been swept away with the institution of slavery was either the result of ignorance or the desire to deceive the public.[197] With reference to the overtures of the Northern body for reunion the report stated that "The only consolidation or reconstruction they would accept would be that we turn over to them our Church property and interests and influence; yield the whole field; confess that we have been wrong; indorse the politics of their Church as a condition of membership; and become political hucksters instead of Gospel ministers; then even our motives would be suspected, and we looked upon with contempt for our cowardly truckling to party and power."[198]

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[193] Letter of Newman to the Christian Advocate and Journal, May 18, 1865.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Letter of Rev. J. Knowles of Oxford, Georgia, to the Christian Advocate and Journal, September 7, 1865.

The Palmyra Manifesto encouraged other leaders of the Southern Church, and had a definite influence in shaping the future policy of that Church. Soon after the Manifesto was issued the bishops of the Southern Church adopted it in the Pastoral Address which they issued at Columbus,

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[196] Lewis, W. H., The History of Methodism in Missouri for a Decade of Years from 1860 to 1870 (Nashville, 1890), as cited in Farish, op. cit., pp. 52-53.
[197] Ibid., p. 53.
[198] Ibid.

Georgia. In this address the bishops discussed the situation confronting the Church, and after enjoining loyalty to the Federal Government and a charitable treatment of the colored membership of the Church, they turned their attention to the relationship of the Church with the Northern Methodists.[199] After reviewing the history of the two branches of Methodism, the bishops dealt with the subject of union with the Northern body. They declared:

> While testifying with pleasure to the nobler conduct and sentiments of many brethren among them, we must express, with regret, our apprehension that a large proportion, if not a majority of Northern Methodists have become incurably radical. They teach for doctrine the commandments of men. They preach another Gospel. They have incorporated social dogmas and political tests into their Church creeds. They have gone on to impose conditions upon discipleship that Christ did not impose. Their pulpits are perverted to agitations and questions not healthful to personal piety, but promotive to political and ecclesiastical discord, rather than those ends for which the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ was instituted.[200]

The bishops further declared that without a change of sentiment among the Northern Church, as they saw no immediate prospect of, they could "anticipate no good result from even entertaining the subject of reunion with them."[201] "Let us abide in our own lot," they asserted, "and be true to our calling, doing what we can to spread scriptural holiness through these lands, and to oppose the tide of fanaticism which threatens their overthrow."[202] In closing the address, the bishops referred to the action of the Northern Church in seizing and claiming the property of the Southern Church, and issued a warning against the attempt of the Northerners "to disturb, and, if possible, disintegrate and then absorb our membership individually."[203]

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[199] Farish, _op. cit._, pp. 54-55.
[200] _Appendix to the Journal of the General Conference_, 1866, pp. 25-28; Farish, _op. cit._, p. 55.
[201] Farish, _op. cit._, p. 55.
[202] _Ibid._, p. 56.

Despite the fact that the Northern Church appointed no fraternal delegates to the General Conference of the Southern Church at New Orleans in 1866, two of the Northern Annual Conferences made overtures to the Southern Church in anticipation of reunion.[204] In reply to these overtures the Southern Church made it plain that they could entertain no thought of reunion under such conditions.[205] Church unity remained a hope for the future.

Undaunted by the attitude of the Southern Church as expressed in their addresses and reports, the Northern Church in 1869 made another overture to the Southern bishops. The General Conference of 1868 had acted accordingly, and Bishops Janes and Simpson were delegated to convey this overture to the Southern bishops meeting in St. Louis in May, 1869.[206] In a communication to the Southern churchmen the bishops of the Northern Church stated that as the division of the Church had been productive of evil, and that slavery having been abolished the main obstacle to reunion had been removed. They declared that if the leaders of the Churches should wait until prompted by their membership to seek union, it would bring reproach upon them, and perhaps delay that union which

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[203] Ibid., p. 56.

[204] Ibid., p. 56.

[205] Ibid. The conditions demanded of the M. E. Church, South members were freedom from slavery and loyalty to the Government. That the Southern Methodists were still alive was the opinion of Dr. T. M. Eddy. Writing in the Northwestern Christian Advocate, May 30, 1866, he declared: "The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South has met and adjourned . . . and let no man suppose that the organization is about to fall to pieces; on the contrary it is well compacted, and will make such an effort for extension and aggression as has scarcely been witnessed on this continent . . . it has organized for war, and means to plant its standard in every Northern city."

[206] Hyde, A. B. The Story of Methodism (Greenfield, Mass., 1887), p. 206; Letter of the Bishops of the M.E.Church in the Christian Advocate (N.Y.)

"both the love of country and religion invoke and which the providence of God seems to render inevitable at no distant date."[207]

The Southern bishops took this opportunity to clear the atmosphere of any doubt concerning the relations of the two Churches. They plainly declared that before any steps could be taken toward reunion the establishment of fraternal relations and feelings would have to be effected. They made it equally plain that their Church would consider no overtures for reunion in which were not involved a recognition of the validity of the Plan of Separation. "We cannot think you mean to offend us," they said, "when you speak of our having separated from you, and put us in the same category with a small body of schismatics . . . Allow us in all kindness, brethren, to remind you, and to keep the important fact of history prominent, that we separated from you in no sense in which you did not separate from us. The separation was by compact and mutual, and nearer approaches to each other can be conducted with hope of a successful issue only on this basis."[208] The Southern bishops further asserted that the conduct of the missionaries and agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South, whose avowed purpose was to "disintegrate and absorb our societies that otherwise dwell quietly," had been "very prejudicial to that charity which we desire our people to cultivate toward all Christians, and especially those who are called by the endeared name of Methodists." Their action "in taking possession of some of our houses of worship," the bishops declared, "has inflicted both grief and loss on us, and bears the appearance to disinterested men of the world, of being not only a breach of charity, but an invasion of the plainest rights of property."[209] Having made these statements, the Southern bishops disclaimed all authority to act with regard to reunion with the Northern Church.

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[207] The Christian Advocate, May 20, 1869.

[208] The reply of the Southern bishops as given in the St. Louis Christian Advocate, and quoted in The Christian Advocate, May 20, 1869.

When it became apparent that the two Methodist Churches would continue for an indefinite period as two distinct and independent organizations, there followed a period of mutual recrimination among the Methodists of the North and South. The Southern Methodists were no less outspoken concerning their attitudes towards the Northern Church, than the latter had been since the opening of the Civil War. The seizure of the Southern Methodist property was particularly irksome to the churchmen in the South, and they expressed themselves plainly on the subject. Bishop Enoch Marvin of the Southern Methodist Church, declared in 1869:

> The maudlin sentiment that would daub over the great public crimes committed by the highest dignitaries

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[209] Ibid., May 20, 1869. Farish, in his book The Circuit Rider Dismounts p. 59, shows conclusively that the discussions in the periodicals of the Southern Church following this address serve to bear out the fact that the Southern Methodists were a unit with regard to the position taken by their bishops, and that they opposed any form of reunion with the Northern Church. When the Southern bishops refused reunion, Dr. Gilbert Haven, editor of the Zion's Herald (June 17, 1869) said: "It is evident that all the peace and unity the Southern leaders, editorial and Episcopal, want, is for us to let their territory alone; a Jefferson Davis proposal, which our Bishops no more intend to grant than Mr. Lincoln did their President's wishes when he proposed conference and offered union. The terms he offered and that we shall cling to, are unconditional surrender of slavery and all its train. Any such confessions and concessions and silences as these journals and their Bishops suggest, our Bishops, Commission, General or Annual Conferences or people will never grant. Our Church was right, and will always avow it. They must accept those terms or die slowly while we steadily absorb their dissolving forces." In the Zion's Herald, August 19, 1869, Haven declared, "How would Brother McCabe's patriotic hymns sound if sung lustily by a Conference whose presiding officer had been an earnest, and was yet an unrepentant rebel?" When Jefferson Davis visited the General Conference of the Church, South, in 1870, Haven wrote in the Zion's Herald of June 23, 1870, "How ready is such a body for reunion with a Church that sent more men, and gave more money than any other to overthrow the iniquity and rebellion these leaders fostered and upheld?"

> of the Northern Methodist Church and their representatives in the South and along the border, is not charity. It is at best a clumsy counterfeit of that chief of the virtues. True charity will bring them to confession and recantation of their deeds. To all their former misdeeds they now add, to avoid the shame of the past, denials, equivocation, and, as in the case of the . . . property seized by them, false recriminations. The sober truth is that they have never hesitated during the time of our public trouble to use the influence that an active partisanship gave them with the party in power, to take possession of our property, either by military order, or terrirism, or mob violence. The public conscience of that Church seems to have been debauched by their efforts to defraud us of our property at the time of the division of the Church.[210]

The Knoxville Daily Free Press joined in the Southern protest against the aggressive policy of the Northern Church in that section of the country. "They have made the church in fact a church militant," it asserted, "and now that carnage has ceased--now that a million lives have been sacrificed to the accursed spirit of fanaticism a Northern and sectional branch of one church arrogates itself the claim of being the church triumphant. Triumphant, not in the spirit of the Prince of Peace, but rather with the greed and rapacity of priestly plunderers."[211] The chorus of protests against the "church stealers" from the North was joined by the Richmond Despatch in Virginia. A religious notice appeared in that paper in 1869, which the editor of the Northwestern Christian Advocate reprinted as an indication of "brotherly love." The Richmond paper declared:

> The Northern Methodist Church, which can do no good

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[210] Letter of Bishop Marvin to Rev. L. M. Leftwich, December 24, 1869. Cited in Leftwich, op. cit., I, pp. 6-7.

[211] Knoxville Daily Free Press, November 5, 1867, as cited in Patton, J. W., Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee (Chapel Hill, 1934), p. 237.

> in Virginia, and whose preachers are regarded as no better than horse thieves or bounty jumpers by nine-tenths of our people, is trying to obtain a foothold here. The people cordially detest the whole concern--bishops, preachers, and horse-stealers, (if this last class does not include the other classes.) They wish to have nothing to do with them. Yet these radical parsons force themselves upon an unwilling people for political purposes, and not only steal the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in, but would, if they could, steal the churches themselves.[212]

In 1870 the chief organ of the Baltimore Conference of the Southern Methodist Church "relieved its mind on reunion," and the attempt of the Northern Church to forcibly occupy the churches of the former body. The Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church sent an embassy to the like Conference of the Southern Methodist Church, but they were refused admission. Referring to the attempted overture for reunion the Southern paper declared:

> What a flexible mouth that must be which six years ago was grinning in vengeance, and showing its fangs greedy to fix themselves in the heart of the Southern Church, but now puckers in a hypocritical smile, and with practiced modulation that cannot altogether conceal a habitual hiss of hate, talks of brotherhood and reunion! Episcopal recruiting-agents for armies of rapine, whose crimes are to be consecrated by a statue on the monument of a nation's infamy! Successor of the Apostles in title, tool of Stanton in soul, who like a wolf didst sneak in the track of conquering invaders to prey upon the wounded body of Christ, unclutch your hand from our purse before you extend it in offer of fraternity! Give us the share of funds for disabled and superannuated ministers you have unjustly withheld from those who left your company because they loved truth, and honor, and Christ, better than fraud, and craft, and Mammon; apologize for the insult you threw in the face of our Church when spurning from your notice a venerable

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[212] Northwestern Christian Advocate, August 26, 1868.

> minister, delegated to bear brotherly wishes; restore the churches and colleges you have stolen under the cloak of carpetbag legality; repent of your atrocities, the houses you have led others to burn, the fields you have instigated them to lay waste, the brave defenders of their country you have harangued them to slaughter; and then, when the widows of these fallen soldiers are speechless in their grave, and their children have buried recollection in the same sepulchre, send your representatives to offer assurances of Christian sympathy, and if the transmitted stain of your crimes has faded from their hands, we may treat them as neighbors on probation. Meanwhile, cease your cunning manoeuvers, and pray for the mercy you so much need. Your days are few, and your account must soon be rendered. Ask God for the pardon which nothing but the boundless compassion of God can bestow.[213]

In reply to this scathing denunciation, Gilbert Haven, the editor of the Zion's Herald, asserted: "Such free speech, after being well whipped in war, and before the conscience of the world, reminds one of the boy who said to his antagonist with whom he had fought unsuccessfully, 'If I can't lick you, I can make faces at your sister.'" He further added: "The Baltimore Southrons couldn't 'lick' the nation, but they can make faces at their sister, and mother even. They'll get over their pouting yet, like other bad children when well punished, and be glad to come back to their old home."[214]

Although the Southern bishops had specified that their Church should be recognized as a legitimate branch of American Methodism, and that this recognition would be the first step toward the establishment of fraternal relations between the two bodies, another proposal for reunion was made in 1870. Bishops Janes and Morris presented to the General

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[213] Zion's Herald, March 31, 1870.
[214] Ibid.

Conference of the Southern Church in 1870 a communication conveying fraternal greetings and a request that the Southern Church appoint a committee to consider with a committee of the Northern Church the subject of reunion. These proposals were no more successful than the previous overtures. The Conference stated that although the commission of the Northern Church had been "fully clothed with authority to treat with us for union, it is the judgment of this Conference that the true interests of the Church of Christ require and demand the maintenance of our separate and distinct organization."[215] In the same year the *Nashville Christian Advocate* expressed the same attitude toward the subject of reunion with the Northern body. "Instead of multitudes of Southern Methodists wanting a union with the Northern Church," it announced, "we know multitudes who would leave the Church if such a union were effected; but we do not know a half dozen persons, men, women, or children, white or black, who favor such a Utopian project."[216] The attitude of the Southern Methodists in New Orleans, according to Reverend J. C. Hartzell, was even opposed to fraternity with the Northern Methodists.[217]

Thus a virtual state of war existed between the two Churches during the period immediately following the Civil War. "Of all the Southern people," wrote Dr. Daniel Curry, "the Methodists are probably the most bitterly hostile to everything Northern, and especially to Northern Methodists."[218] When it became apparent that the Southern Methodist Church could not be absorbed and the Northern body could not be persuaded to abandon the policy of organization in the Southern territory, one of the Northern preachers in the South declared that "one of two alternatives must follow--perpetual war, or ultimate organic union." "War already exists," he wrote, "Shall it be perpetuated? A fratricidal war! A Methodist war! A war between Wesley's sons and daughters! How strange and unwarrantable all this seems and is."[219] When the Southern Church refused to consider union with the Northern body, the representatives of the latter Church in the South considered it as an order to march deeper into the territory. One of them wrote to the Zion's Herald and declared: "When the General Conference of the Church, South, said 'be gone' to our overtures, then the spirit of Wesley whispered to every pioneer of our Church in the South 'Onward! The victory shall be yours. Yes it is ours . . . The new era cries for the utter destruction of the prejudiced South."[220]

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[215] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1870, pp. 230-231.
[216] *Nashville Christian Advocate*, as quoted by the *Zion's Herald*, September 8, 1870.
[217] Letter of J. C. Hartzell, New Orleans, to L. C. Matlack, October 1, 1872. *Hartzell MSS*, in possession of the Methodist Book Concern, Chicago. Hartzell wrote: "Rev. Matthews of the Church South made me a visit last night, and we canvassed the matter of Fraternity. He frankly said that he would not invite me into his pulpit nor enter mine--He said he dared not for if he should his church would be riven in pieces. He professes to act on the ground of expediency--I fear there is too much natural depravity in the matter."
[218] *Christian Advocate and Journal*, May 25, 1865.

Abandoning the efforts for reunion with the Southern Methodist Church, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, meeting at Brooklyn in 1872, resolved that fraternal relations be established with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[221] Albert S. Hunt, of the New York East Conference; Charles H. Fowler, of the Rock River Conference, and General Clinton B. Fisk, of St. Louis, were selected to act as fraternal delegates to the following General Conference of the Southern Church,[222] which convened at Louisville, Kentucky in May, 1874.

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[219] Letter of Rev. L. C. Matlack, to The Christian Advocate, May 20, 1869.

[220] Letter of Rev. Charles W. Fitzhue to the Zion's Herald, July 21, 1870.

[221] Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1872, pp. 403-404.

[222] Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1874, p. 415.

The fraternal letter of this delegation was read before the latter Conference, and a series of resolutions were adopted in response to the overture of the Methodist Episcopal Church. One resolution insisted that the Northern Methodists recognize the Plan of Separation adopted by the General Conference of 1844,[223] and the following resolutions provided for the establishment of fraternal relations between the two Churches:

> Resolved, 1. That this General Conference has received with pleasure the fraternal greetings of the Methodist Episcopal Church, conveyed to us by their delegates, and that our College of Bishops be, and are hereby, authorized to appoint a delegation, consisting of two ministers and one layman, to bear our Christian salutations to their next ensuing General Conference.
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> Resolved, 2. That in order to remove all obstacles to formal fraternity between the two churches, our College of Bishops is authorized to appoint a Commission, consisting of three ministers and two laymen, to meet a similar Commission authorized by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to adjust all existing difficulties.[224]

At the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, meeting at Baltimore in May 1876, the representatives of the two Churches met once more. The Southern bishops had appointed Lovick Pierce, of the South Georgia Conference; James A. Duncan, of the Virginia Conference; and Landon C. Garland, of Vanderbilt University, as fraternal delegates.[225] Lovick Pierce was detained during the journey to Baltimore by illness, but the other two delegates delivered the fraternal greetings of the Southern Church.[226] Pierce, however, sent his message to the Conference protesting against any longer use of the popular phrase, "two Methodisms." He stated that "there is but one Episcopal Methodism in the United States of America, and you and we together make up this one Methodism."[227] With reference to the adjustment of the differences and difficulties between the two Churches he declared: "We do not believe that these difficulties ever ought to be discussed in either General Conference at large. They are delicate, sensitive things, never to be settled by chafing speeches; but, as we believe, they can be speedily PRAYED AND TALKED TO DEATH by a joint board of discreet brethren intent upon Christian peace."[228]

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[223] Ibid., p. 547.

[224] Ibid., p. 548.

[225] The General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church from 1792 to 1896, pp. 316-317.

[226] Ibid., p. 317.

Responding to the suggestions of the Southern delegation, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 1876 instructed the bishops of that Church to appoint a commission to meet with the commission already appointed by the Southern Church to adjust the differences between the two Churches.[229] The two commissions met in Congress Hall, Cape May, New Jersey, on August 17, 1876, and proceeded to "talk and pray to death" the remaining difficulties which had for many years kept the Methodists in a state of antagonism.[230] The Southern representatives announced at the beginning of the Cape May conference that they were not authorized to act in the plans of the meeting, except on the basis of the Plan of Separation of 1844. To this the Northern commissioners agreed, and in order to settle all the controversies between the two bodies of Methodism the following declaration and basis of fraternity was adopted:

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[227] Ibid., p. 317.
[228] Ibid., p. 319.
[229] Ibid., p. 319.
[230] Ibid.

> Each of said Churches in a legitimate branch of ✓ Episcopal Methodism, having a common origin in the Methodist Episcopal Church, organized in 1784. Since the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was consummated in 1845 by the voluntary exercise of the right of the southern annual conferences, ministers and members, to adhere to that Communion, it has been an evangelical Church, reared upon Scriptural foundations; and her ministers and members, with those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, have constituted one Methodist family, though in distinct ecclesiastical connection.[231]

The joint commission forumlated a series of rules for the adjustment of property claims of the two Churches. The first rule provided that where there was only one Methodist society, that society should be given the property in dispute.[232] The second rule confirmed all the judgments of the state courts in the adjustment of property claims, and provided for the establishment of a board of arbitration in communities in which there were controversies concerning church property.[233] These rules of the commission were to be made effective at once.[234]

Although fraternal relations had been established by the Cape May commissions in 1876, the hope of establishing organic union seemed distant in the last decade of the century. Dr. Joseph C. Hartzell, Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, stated in 1891: "As to organic union the drift of sentiment in the Southern Methodist Church is from it and for reasons which to her best men, as for example, Bishop Haygood, are abundant. It is not now a practical question and ought not to be precipitated except with great care and prudence, in the discussions of the Church."[235] In 1898 a new compromise was brought about between the two Methodisms, when the representatives of each Church met in Washington and agreed upon a basis of federation. The editor of the Christian Educator, Dr. John W. Hamilton, declared that the new relationship between the Churches was "an improvement in good manners between brethren."[236] It was agreed that the federation would start without mention of the "old divorce--the flaw in 'the papers'--the 'Plan of Separation.'"[237] Among other things it was agreed among the two Churches to have a common catechism, hymn-book, and order of public worship; the adoption of measures for the joint administration of their publishing interests in China and Japan; to provide "against small Churches in small places hating each other and starving their small preachers in a small way;" and to promote the cause of higher education among the Methodist people.[238] At the end of the century the Northern preachers in the South were reported to be "breaking bread from Southern house to Southern house, eating their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favor with all the people," and Southern preachers and people had so forgotten the antagonisms of the period immediately following the war, that they looked "forward to the coming of the bishops and other officials of the Methodist Episcopal Church in their Annual Conferences as they look for the coming of their own."[239]

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[231] Ibid., p. 319.

[232] "Cape May Commission," in the Nashville Christian Advocate, September 2, 1876.

[233] Ibid.

[234] Ibid.

The first Annual Conference to be organized by the Methodist

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[235] Hartzell Papers: Methodist Book Concern, Chicago. Letter of Dr. Hartzell to Rev. John Crary, December 28, 1891.
[236] The Christian Educator (February-March), 1898), p. 59.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Ibid., pp. 59-60.
[239] Ibid., pp. 60-61.

Episcopal Church in the South, was the Holston Conference in East Tennessee, where resided a great number of people who were not in sympathy with the Confederacy. During the war, Mr. Morse, the founder of the New York Observer, wrote a pamphlet on the loyal white people of the Central South, calling the attention of President Lincoln to these people with whom it was very important for the government to form intimate relations, and make their members and territory a basis of operations in the regions beyond.[240] It has been held that the rebellion did not receive its death blow until Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Eastern Tennessee were secured as bases from which the Union army struck into the unconquered portions of the South.[241] As this section of the country served as a base of operations for the army, it also served as a base of operations for the invasion of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[242] After the organization of the Holston Conference of the Northern Church, one of the army chaplains wrote to the Christian Advocate and Journal and stated: "The Methodist Episcopal Church now holds the key to the South, and, by the blessing of God on her labors, will unlock all our Southern territory, and give to it a pure Gospel."[243]

During the war the Holston Conference of the Southern Methodist Church, under Bishop Early, the brother of General Early of the Confederate army, had openly supported the Confederate government. At its Conference in 1861, it had offered prayers for the Confederacy and had not included petitions for the Federal government. The next year it met at Athens, Tennessee, where it expelled nine Union preachers and elected to life membership in the Parent Missionary Society, President Jefferson Davis, and Generals Sterling Price, John Morgan, Simon B. Buckner, Robert E. Lee, and Stonewall Jackson. In 1863 it met at Wytheville, Virginia, and again expelled a number of Union preachers. When the Conference met at Bristol in 1864, Bishop Early and the members of the body scanned the roll of ministers and found additional traitors to the Confederacy and promptly expelled them. At this session of the Conference resolutions were passed forbidding anyone to take the oath to support the Federal government, which was at the time attempting to invade the territory.[244]

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[240] The Christian Educator, (July, 1890), p. 160.
[241] Twenty-second Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, 1889, p. 14. (Hereafter cited as Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society, and abbreviated Report of the F. A. S.).
[242] Ibid.
[243] Letter of W. H. Black, Chaplain 23rd Kentucky Infantry, U. S. Army, June 9, 1865, to the Christian Advocate and Journal, June 22, 1865.

To W. G. "Parson" Brownlow, an eccentric Methodist preacher, exiled from Tennessee by the Confederates, and later reconstruction Governor of Tennessee, goes most of the credit for the reorganization of the Northern Church in Tennessee. Although Brownlow had debated in the North, before the Civil War, in favor of the institution of slavery,[245] and defended the action of the Southern Methodists in breaking with the abolitionist North in 1856,[246] he hated secession and disloyalty. The action of the Southern Methodists in supporting the Confederacy caused Brownlow to break with that organization, and throw his support to the Union cause. His house was the last to display the American flag in Knoxville in 1861, and on account of his Union activities he became very unpopular and was compelled to suspend the publication of his paper in the same year. The Confederates accused him of bridge-burning, and a detachment of troops were sent after him with orders to shoot him on sight. Thus pursued, he fled to the mountains. He was eventually apprehended; imprisoned at Nashville by the Confederates and later sent to the North in exile.[247]

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[244] Price, Richard N., Holston Methodism: From Its Origin to the Present Time (Nashville, 1913), IV, 266, 299, 341; III, 358-359; IV, 352, 361.

[245] Brownlow, William G., Ought American Slavery to be Perpetuated? A Debate between Rev. W. G. Brownlow and Rev. A. Pryne held at Philadelphia, September 1858. (Philadelphia, 1858).

[246] Brownlow, William G., The Great Iron Wheel Examined; or, Its False Spokes Extracted, and an Exhibition of Elder Graves, its Builder, in a Series of Chapters (Nashville, 1856), p. 283.

When the Holston Conference of the Southern Methodist Church expelled the Union preachers from the connection, Brownlow, then in exile, proclaimed that he was going back to resurrect his suppressed paper, the Knoxville Whig, and "pour hot shot into their rotten hulks."[248] Upon his return to Tennessee in 1864, with the Union troops, he proclaimed that there had been no religion in Knoxville, "since we Christian were driven out, and forced into Kentucky."[249]

When the Union armies had invaded Tennessee, Brownlow and the chaplains serving with the Federal forces, began a correspondence with the Northern organization for the purpose of inducing it to take over the Southern Methodist churches in that state. One chaplain wrote to Bishop Matthew Simpson, before Secretary Stanton had issued orders from the War Department aiding the religious invasion, that the Southern Methodists were "disorganized beyond the hope of recovery."[250] "I believe," suggested the chaplain, "if the matter could be properly presented to the government authorities some assistance could be secured to us in regain-ing these churches. And I see not why the Churches and Parsonages and School buildings that were left by the rebel preachers of the church South should not be given to the loyal old M. E. church. It would be easy to show our government that the M. E. church South as a body was thoroughly disloyal, and more, that every cent of her property belongs to us."[251] He pointed out that the bishop would "do well to have an eye" to the purchase of confiscated property in the South which would be sold cheap. "When the war closes," he continued, "undoubtedly a large number of our Soldiers as well as others will make their homes in the South . . . Unless we can reorganize in those states of course we should lose all those."[252]

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[247] For details of Brownlow's experiences with the Confederates see Parson Brownlow's Book.
[248] Knoxville Whig, Feb. 13, and 27, 1864, giving speech in Nashville, Nov. 1862, as cited by Hesseltine, op. cit., p. 46.
[249] Knoxville Whig, November 11, 1863, as cited by Hesseltine, op. cit., p. 46.
[250] S. Reed of Ypsilanti to Bishop Simpson, Nov. 23, 1863, Simpson MSS, in possession of Dr. Clarence True Wilson, and cited by Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

In the stronghold of Union sentiment at Knoxville, Parson Brownlow watched with great interest the early efforts to organize the Methodist Episcopal Church in Tennessee. When Bishop Simpson visited Chattanooga, Brownlow announced in his paper that it was the wish and expectation of all the loyal Methodists that the bishop would hold a conference in Knoxville during the summer.[253] Finally, when the General Conference had endorsed the Southern invasion, although it had taken no specific steps to organize in East Tennessee, Brownlow and six clerical brethren issued a call for a convention of Union Methodists to meet in Knoxville to consider the state of the Church in that region. While some of the members of the convention wanted to organize an independent Wesleyan church, the Parson announced that he would contend for union with the

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[251] Ibid., pp. 47-48.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Knoxville Whig, February 20, 1864, as cited by Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

Methodist Episcopal Church, for independence involved too much danger of being annexed by the "vile hypocrits" of the Church, South.[254] In the meeting at Knoxville "fire and brimstone" resolutions were hurled at the Southern Methodist organization, and a committee was appointed which decided to secede from the Holston Conference of the Southern Church, seize the property and join the Northern Church.[255] Brownlow was the guiding factor in the meeting and in chief command.

Before the Knoxville Convention had asembled, Brownlow made a visit to the North to interview the bishops of the Northern Church. After attending the Baltimore convention of the Republican party in June 1864, he continued his journey to Philadelphia, where he had a "free and full" conversation with Bishop Simpson on the state of the Church in Tennessee. He returned by the way of Cincinnati to interview the newly elected Bishop Kingsley, who had been placed in charge of the work of the Church in the South.[256] Brownlow and Kingsley agreed that it was expedient to hold the Knoxville Convention, and the Parson urged Bishop Kingsley to immediately organize the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which he agreed to do. However, Kingsley privately informed Bishop Simpson that he thought it wise to defer the organization of the conference until General Sherman had waged his campaign. If Sherman was successful, then the conference could be organized.[257]

Although a great many plans had been made toward the organization of the conference in East Tennessee, Brownlow was "not a man to sit with folded hands while awaiting divine intervention," and growing impatient with the slow progress of the organization of the Church, wrote to Bishop Clark in January 1865, pleading for the conference to be organized immediately. He declared: "We want a Conference organized in this old Holston Conference, and if it is not done we shall lose our people . . . they will wander off to other Churches. We have held one convention and we found, to our astonishment, that we have over one-hundred preachers, local and traveling, who are loyal, and have stood out against the rebellion."[258] After Brownlow was elected reconstruction Governor of Tennessee in March 1865, his efforts were doubled for the organization of the Holston Conference. In the spring of 1865, a reporter of the _Nashville Daily Press and Times_, calling at the executive rooms of the capitol building, found in session what he called an "interesting meeting". He added, "we found Governor Brownlow in conference--we might say _Methodist Conference_-- with the distinguished Bishop Clark, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of Cincinnati; Rev. Dr. A. Poe, of the Methodist Book Concern, of the same city; Rev. T. H. Pearne, of Oregon . . . and some three or four other Methodist clergymen, among them some most active chaplains. The first three named are on their way to attend the Holston Conference which will meet in Athens, East Tennessee, on the first of June next."[259]

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[254] Knoxville Whig, May 28, 1864, as cited by Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
[255] Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, August 16, 1865, as cited by Coulter, op. cit., pp. 296-297.
[256] Knoxville Whig, July 2, 1864, as cited by Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
[257] Kingsley to Simpson, July 5, 1864, Simpson MSS., as cited in Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

Following the "interesting meeting" with the Governor at Nashville Bishop Clark and a gathering of ministers, chiefly late members of the Holston Conference of the Southern Church, met at Athens on June 1, 1865, for purposes of organization.[260] The large proportion of the laity and many local preachers, along with those of the clergy who had remained loyal to the Union, hailed the coming of the "old Mother Church."[261] Six ministers, transferred from other Annual Conferences, formed the nucleus of the new conference.[262] Bishop Clark recognized the following ministers as compromising the clerical membership; W. C. Daly, G. A. Gowan, R. H. Guthrie, from the Kentucky Annual Conference; T. S. Stivers, from the Ohio Conference; Thomas H. Pearne, from the Oregon Conference; and J. F. Spence, from the Cincinnati Conference.[263] At this first session of the Holston Conference of the Northern Church, fifty-five local preachers were reported as being within the bounds of the organization.[264] Fourteen ministers were admitted by vote of the Conference, each one making the statement, as his name was presented, of his agreement with the doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church concerning loyalty to the Union and opposition to the institution of slavery.[265] The reported statistics of church membership and property in the conference revealed a membership of 6,494, including probationers; fifty-one Sabbath schools; 336 officers and teachers; 2,425 scholars; fifty-five local preachers; and 101 churches, estimated to be worth $31,250.[266] After the organization of the Conference, Thomas H. Pearne wrote to the Western Christian Advocate and gave his impressions of what had taken place. He said: "An eventful day for East Tennessee is this first day of June, in the year of grace 1865. It is scarcely less so when the loyal East Tennessee Methodists met in Convention at Knoxville, on the 7th and 8th days of July, and determined to separate themselves from a Church which had been the apologists and defenders of slavery, and the fomenters and supporters of treason, secession, and rebellion, and connect themselves with the Methodist Episcopal Church, which had always stood loyally by the Government of the United States, and which had also been that of their early choice, and upon which God had continued to put honor."[267] Another writer stated that the assembling of the Conference "was like the return of the seventy disciples of Christ, a season of wonder and great joy."[268]

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[258] Brownlow to Clark, as quoted by the _Western Christian Advocate_, January 4, 1865.
[259] Pearne, _op. cit._, p. 311, quoting the _Nashville Daily Press and Times_.
[260] Curry, _op. cit._, p. 208.

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[261] Ibid., p. 208.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Western Christian Advocate, June 14, 1865.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Ibid.

Although the conference had been established among the loyal people of East Tennessee, Governor Brownlow continued to take an active part in the growth of the organization. He attempted to stampede all East Tennesseans with Union sentiments into the Northern Methodist organization, fearing that the Rebels might predominate in the Church as they undoubtedly did in the State. In their efforts to capitalize on the Union patriotism of that section, the Northern Methodists in some localities labelled themselves the "United States Church."[269] When the Southern Methodist preachers came home from the Confederate army, and began the reconstruction of their Church in East Tennessee, the Parson fell upon them with bitter words, and urged the Unionists of East Tennessee to fall upon these "vile hypocrits" and avenge themselves. He declared in his Knoxville Whig in September 1865; "Many of these soldiers and their families were Methodists, when they were driven out of the country, and they propose to do some circuit riding now! They say that preachers who informed the rebel authorities what route they had taken, as they escaped to the Federal lines, and then hunted them down with Indians and dogs, can't preach where they are . . . If these men really believe that the Lord has called them to preach in East Tennessee, they had better apply for a furlough, and ask to be relieved. For if they understand it, they will realize the truth of what they have often sung at their camp meetings--'Through tribulations deep the way to glory lies.'"[270]

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[267] Letter of Pearne, June 1, 1865, to the Western Christian Advocate, and cited in Pearne, op. cit., pp. 283-284.

[268] Flood, T. L., and Hamilton, J. W., Lives of Methodist Bishops (New York, 1882), pp. 412-413.

[269] Price, op. cit., IV, p. 476.

Governor Brownlow, as head of the reconstruction government in Tennessee, was indespensable to the establishment of the Northern Church in that state. Many of the missionaries of the Church wrote glowing reports of his co-operative efforts in their behalf. One correspondent said of him: "one thing I know, that Tennessee has a governor who fears God, not the devil, loves loyalty, hates treason and traitors, and will vindicate and protect the rights of the one, and punish with heavy blows the ungodliness of the other. Thank God for Brownlow. Even for this purpose was he kept by the Almighty."[271] Another declared that "Governor Brownlow has the soul of a Methodist preacher through and through. He feels at home where they are, and I believe he likes to have them around. He loves our Church and stands up for it like the beaten anvil to the stroke. He has no faith in half-way measures."[272] That he liked to have Methodist preachers around him is evidenced by the fact that Brownlow persuaded the president of the railroad in that region to place at his disposal a special car in which Bishop Clark, Brownlow, and others, were transported to the Holston Conference of 1866.[273] One of the party reported the occasion to the Western Christian Advocate, and added: "We are greatly indebted to the Governor for his attentions to our party, and shall cherish pleasant memories of him and his family, by whom we were most hospitably entertained."[274]

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[270] Knoxville Whig, September 30, 1865, as cited in Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 54-55.
[271] Letter of H. O. Hoffman, May 2, 1867 to the Western Christian Advocate, May 15, 1867.
[272] Letter of D. J. Holmes to the Northwestern Christian Advocate, May 30, 1866.

Apart from Brownlow, whose time was somewhat divided on account of the affairs of State, the next greatest organizer of the Northern Church in East Tennessee was the Reverend Thomas H. Pearne. After the meeting of Brownlow's Knoxville Convention in 1864, Bishop Clark wrote to Pearne inviting him to accompany him to East Tenneseee, "from which an urgent appeal had come from a large laymen's and minister's Convention, asking the bishops of the dear old Methodist Episcopal Church again to extend over them their sheltering wing."[275] Pearne was somewhat a politician in his own right, having campaigned in behalf of the Republican ticket in Oregon.[276] At the Holston Conference of 1865, Pearne was made presiding elder of the Knoxville District, and entered upon a campaign of agitation against the Southern Methodists, seeking to exterminate them by harsh words. After accusing the Southern Methodists of breaking all the laws in the Decalogue, he asked them when did they "put away and renounce their treason-abbeting and rebellion-promoting political meddling?"[277] On another occasion he declared, "I have no terms to express the supreme contempt and utter loathing which they deserve."[278] He was bitterly opposed to any attempt at reunion with the Southern Methodists, and when the discussions were being printed in the Church periodicals concerning the movement, he added his opinion of union in these words: "Is the Methodist Episcopal Church ready to absorb, bodily, such a mass of disloyalty? Could she do it without causing such a loathing, retching and vomiting as perhaps were never before seen?"[279]

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[273] Letter of T. H. Pearne, May 17, 1866, to the Western Christian Advocate, June 6, 1866.
[274] Letter of "Traveler," to the Western Christian Advocate, May 30, 1866.
[275] Pearne, op. cit., pp. 282-283.
[276] Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 57-58.
[277] Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, December 19, 1866, as quoted in Coulter, op. cit., p. 299.
[278] Coulter, op. cit., p. 299.

During his stay in East Tennessee, Pearne was active not only in the Church activities, but in journalism as well. He wrote many attacks in the Knoxville Whig against the Southern Methodists, and became so proficient in the "Brownlow style of journalism"[280] that in the absence of Parson Brownlow, he was elected editor of the Whig in 1869.[281] One of his co-workers in Tennessee, sensing that perhaps criticism might result from such secular pursuits, defended the action of Pearne in accepting the position, by stating that "after carefully looking at all these interests and prayerfully weighing his responsibilities, the Doctor has accepted the position. If an eminent minister of the Gospel is ever justified in turning aside from his regular work to engage in the work of teaching or superintending educational matters outside of the Church, I think Dr. Pearne is justified in accepting the position."[282] He continued, "Not that a minister would always be justified in turning aside to fill such a post of hard work and great responsibility, but that in this particular case, with society and circumstances just as they are, I think almost any strong minister with peculiar qualifications, would be justified . . . Some of his ministerial brethren earnestly advised him to this course, and that too, having the best interests of our Church at heart. It is not to be, in any sense, a Church paper . . . but to contend for loyalty to the Government; for high moral and true political principles in conduct."[283]

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[279] Letter of T. H. Pearne on "Church Union," in the Northwestern Christian Advocate, March 11, 1868.
[280] Coulter, op. cit., p. 299.
[281] Western Christian Advocate, January 13, 1869; Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 57-58; Coulter, op. cit., p. 299.
[282] Letter of N. E. Cobleigh to the Zion's Herald, February 11, 1869.

Although the Northern Methodists had the support of the government of the State and newspapers to champion their cause, they met with difficulties in the establishment of the Church. One minister wrote that "our preachers are still 'targets' for the disloyal. To get support many of them are obliged to labor with their own hands five days out of seven; this they are compelled to do or starve."[284] The bitterness between the "loyal" and "disloyal" elements in that section of the country was so intense that many of the "carpetbag" preachers of the Northern Church risked their lives in holding their appointments. Pearne stated that in 1866 at the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, he was "set upon by several ruffians in the Conference rooms, who sought to provoke me into a wrangle, and then take my life."[285] He was "fired upon in Knoxville before I had been there a month, and when the murderer saw I did not fall, he ran away as fast as he could."[286] At some places Pearne had to arm himself to prevent the danger of physical violence. He writes of one such experience in the following words:

> On another occasion I went to hold a quarterly-meeting on Saturday and Sunday. In that neighborhood there were quite a large number of ex-Confederates. On reaching the church, a friend took me aside, and informed me that threats had been made that I would

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[283] *Ibid.*, February 11, 1869.
[284] Letter of Rev. W. C. Dailey in the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, January 19, 1865.
[285] Pearne, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-320.
[286] *Ibid.*

> not be allowed to preach there, and he feared that if I attempted to hold a meeting there I would be injured, and perhaps killed. . . . I entered the church and kneeled down as usual to offer a brief prayer; and then I stated to the large audience . . . I should hold the meeting . . . and if molested, I was prepared to defend myself. I displayed my revolver, and laid it down before me. Then I proceeded with the meeting without interruption.[287]

During his ministry in East Tennessee, Pearne "received many anonymous letters, containing pictures of coffins and skulls and crossbones," warning him that unless he left the country he "would be done up by the dagger," and find his way "into the coffin without further notices."[288] He stated that they were generally signed by the Ku Klux Klan.[289] On another occasion Pearne wrote of the persecution at the hands of the Southern Methodists. He said: "We are reviled, defamed, proscribed. Our motives are assailed with coarse severity. We are slandered with unscrupulous malignity. If our 'ecclesiastical persecutors' had the power, they would drive us from the country, or subject us to personal violence, and perhaps to martyrdom."[290] But after recalling, no doubt, the support of Brownlow's government, he added: "But thank God! the lion's teeth have been drawn, and all they can do is to gnash their toothless jaws in impotent rage."[291] In 1867, he reported that an ex-rebel soldier shot "Alexander McCann, a very respectable, intelligent and quiet colored preacher . . . the charge of buckshot entering the upper part of the right breast shattering his shoulder and collar bone. He then raised his gun and discharged the other barrel, which unfortunately missed its aim."[292] After the failure of the radical Congress to impeach President Johnson, one of the Northern Methodist preachers declared: "Matters in Tennessee are not the most satisfactory since Johnson's acquittal. Rebels are more bold and defiant. If a man is known to be a radical, he is abused and insulted. I have not been in Winchester for months without being insulted on the streets."[293] In reply to this information of the lot of Northern workers in the South, the editor of the Northwestern Christian Advocate stated that "we sincerely sympathize with our brethren thus among the lines. The very best revenge is the speedy and complete success of our Church in Tennessee and other Southern states."[294] While some of the persecution of the Northern Methodists came from those who were opposed to them on political grounds, most of the blame for such conduct was laid at the door of the Southern Methodists. They were particularly charged with efforts to stir up division and sectionalism by Reverend H. O. Hoffman. He declared:

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[287] Ibid., pp. 318-320.
[288] Ibid.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Letter of Rev. T. H. Pearne to The Christian Advocate, January 24, 1867.
[291] Ibid.

> The Southern Methodist Church is straining every nerve to keep the people divided, and to educate a bitterness which will never yield its flavor to any sweetness that a better temper may inculcate. . . . No, these Southern Methodists do not intend that the era of good feeling shall ever come. When that day comes, the necessity for a Southern Methodist Church will forever be gone, if, indeed, there ever existed any necessity for it. . . . The Southern Methodist Church never intends that its communicants shall respect what their Bishops, presiding elders, and preachers still call, and insist on calling, 'Yankees.'[295]

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[292] Letter of Rev. T. H. Pearne to the Western Christian Advocate, November 13, 1867.
[293] Letter of Rev. Silas Searle to the Northwestern Christian Advocate, July 1, 1868.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Letter of Rev. H. O. Hoffman to the Western Christian Advocate, July 28, 1869.

Perhaps the queerest example of the bitterness between the ministers of the two Churches occurred on Boone's Creek, in East Tennessee. Here, a presiding elder of the Jonesboro District of the Northern Church, a Reverend Mr. Drake, was holding a funeral service. When the corpse was being lowered into the grave, the Reverend J. D. Tadlock, of the Southern Methodist Church, "elbowed his way through the crowd, and, taking the words out of the mouth of Drake, proceeded to inter the body."[296]

The Southern Methodist preachers, on the other hand, suffered persecution at the hands of the Northern Methodists and Unionists in the same section of the country. Under the tutelage of Brownlow, Pearne, and others, the Northern Methodist Church grew strong in numbers, and revengeful toward the Southern Methodists. In some parts of the Holston Conference a veritable reign of terror existed, and even Pearne sought to call off the Northern Methodists from their violent warfare. The preacher of that denomination "transformed himself into a modern crusader who looked upon every Southern Methodist minister as an unspeakable Turk to be assaulted and his house of worship as a new Jerusalem to be stormed."[297] The Southern Methodists were "locked out, barred out, and thrown out of their pulpits and if they showed a disposition to dispute or remain on the church grounds they were cowhided or ridden away on rails."[298] Some forty years after these events had occurred, Pearne wrote: "The Church South preachers were, in some instances, treated very roughly by their former neighbors and acquaintances. They were whipped, and perhaps otherwise maltreated. I never heard of any of them being tarred and feathered, although this might have been done. They were shot from ambuscades. All this tended to hinder the gospel. I wrote and published deep regret at this violence."[299]

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[296] Knoxville Whig, January 23, 1867, quoting the Jonesboro Flag, January 18, 1867, and cited in Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 58-60.
[297] Coulter, op. cit., pp. 299-300.
[298] Price, op. cit., IV, pp. 491-495.

The particular occasion for most of the trouble between the two Methodist organizations in East Tennessee developed out of the seizure of the property of the Southern Church. The Northern Methodists seized about one hundred churches in that region and the Southern Methodists had to resort to "public halls, courthouses, private dwellings, and groves."[300] In view of the fact that they had been deprived of civil rights, the only recourse left to the Southern Methodists was to plead the injustice of the seizures and ask for their property to be returned. At the meeting of the Holston Conference of the Southern Church in 1867, the Northern preachers were refused an introduction to that body," as this would be, in our judgment, a recognition of their acts as a Church towards us."[301] The Conference further resolved that the "hand of the Holston Conference, South, can not take the hand of the Holston Conference, North, until that hand shall release from its grasp and surrender to us all the property of ours which it now holds."[302] Receiving no satisfaction, the Southern Methodists sent a memorial to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1868. The memorial stated that the houses of worship of the Southern Methodist Church had been seized by the Northern ministers, and that they had constituted in part the mobs that insulted their preachers. Charging that the Northern preachers held about a hundred churches, the memorial further stated that "surely if the

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[299] Pearne, op. cit., pp. 316-317.
[300] Price, op. cit., V, p. 11.
[301] Ibid., IV, pp. 444-445.
[302] Ibid.

United States Government does not confiscate the property of those who are called rebels, the Methodist Episcopal Church in her highest legislative assembly will hardly set a precedent by claiming the property of their Southern brethren."[303] The Southern Methodists stated in the memorial that to give the semblance of legality to the acts of seizure, trustees were appointed by the authorities of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and the church property was reported by the Northern preachers in their Conference statistics.[304] The parsonages, they charged, had been seized and occupied by the ministers of the Northern Church, no rent having been paid for their use.[305] They further declared that school and church property of the Southern Holston Conference on which debts "were resting" had been forced upon the market by the agents of the Northern Church, and "thereby wrested from our poverty and added to your abundance."[306] The memorial charged that "thirty-six hundred dollars, appropriated upon our application to the United States Government for damages done to our church at Knoxville during the war, were, by some sleight-of-hand movement, passed into the hands of a minister of the M. E. Church," and still withheld from the Southern Methodists.[307] Persecutions were also reported by the Southern Methodists, and they declared in the memorial that:

> From these churches our ministers are either excluded and driven, or allowed only a joint occupancy with your ministers. From some of them our ministers in the regular rounds of district and circuit work are

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[303] Price, op. cit., IV, p. 455.
[304] Leftwich, op. cit., I, p. 267.
[305] Ibid., p. 268.
[306] Ibid., pp. 268-269.
[307] Ibid., p. 268.

> excluded by locks and bars, or by armed men meeting them at the doors; from others they are driven by mobs, and threatened with death should they attempt a return; at one a presiding elder and a preacher in charge of the circuit, at a quarterly meeting appointment, were arrested and marched fifteen miles amidst indignities and insults; at another, an aged and godly minister was ridden upon a rail, at another, the same man found at the door b bundles of rods and nails, and also a written notice prohibiting him from preaching at the risk of torture; at another, a notice was handed to our preacher, signed by a class leader in the M. E. Church, in which was the following language: 'If you come back here again we will handle you;' and, true to the threat, on a subsequent round, not two miles from the place, this worthy minister, as he was passing to his appointment . . . was taken from his horse, struck a severe blow upon the head, blindfolded, tied to a tree, scourged to laceration, and then ordered to lie with his face to the ground until his scourgers should withdraw, with the threat of death for disobedience. All this he was told, too, was for traveling that circuit and preaching the gospel as a Southern Methodist preacher; from another, the children and teachers of our Sabbath School were ejected while in session by a company of men, who were led by a minister of the M. E. Church.[308]

The memorial of the Southern Conference reminded the General Conference of the Northern Church that the church property in East Tennessee belonged to the Southern Methodist Church, "inasmuch as all deeds since 1844 have been made to us, and all the remainder were granted to us by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Church suit;" unless they remarked, "the ground be a ssumed by your reverend body that when Lee surrendered to Grant the M. E. Church, South, surrendered to the M. E. Church all her property rights."[309] "But it may, perhaps, be said that we have been sinners, rebels, traitors, touching our civil and political relations to the Government," the Southerners confessed in the memorial, but also argued, "If this be so, we are unable to comprehend by what authority we are to be punished by the M. E. Church, since for our moral obliquities we are responsible alone to God, and for our political crimes only to the United States Government."[310] The petition asked the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to ascertain the grounds upon which that Church claimed and held the property of the Southern Methodist church buildings and parsonages; if in the investigation "any property so reported shall be adjudged by you to belong of right to the M. E. Church, South, that you will designate what that property is, and where; and also instruct your ministers and people to relinquish their claims upon the same, repossess us, and leave us in the undisturbed occupancy thereof."[311] In closing the memorial the Southern Methodists requested the Northern body to earnestly advise all Northern Methodist ministers laboring in the East Tennessee field "to abstain from every word and act the tendency of which would be the subversion of good order and peace in the communities in which they move."[312]

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[308] Ibid., pp. 267-268.
[309] Ibid., pp. 269-270.

The memorial from the Southern Holston Conference was referred to a committee of seven which brought in a report on the last day of the session of the General Conference and just before the final adjournment. The report was read amid great confusion, and passed without debate by a small vote.[313] The committee reported that the statements made in the memorial were indefinite, "both as to places, times and persons, and no one has appeared to explain or defend the charges."[314] They stated that they believed no foundation existed for the charges made, deplored the persecutions, and recommended that the papers connected with the matter be referred to the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[315]

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[310] Ibid., p. 270.
[311] Ibid., p. 271.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Leftwich, op. cit., I, 272.
[314] The Daily Advocate, June 3, 1868; Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1868, p, 632; Price, op. cit., IV, 455-458.

In 1869 a committee appointed by the Holston Conference of the Southern Church, to present the property claims of that Church to the like Conference of the Northern Church, asserted the following propositions to be true: "That the Methodist Church, South, is entitled to all the property acquired by the plan of separation adopted by the General Conference of 1844 . . . That all such property should be restored to our Church immediately . . . That if the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church have, by paying debts or otherwise, acquired a just lien on any property of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, they are entitled to have such property satisfied."[316] The Northern Methodists then proposed to make settlement by pacific and fraternal measures, through a joint board appointed by the two Churches.[317] Although it seemed that the property question would be settled in this region after these decisions, the struggle of the Southern Methodists to regain their property was long drawn out. They gradually made headway, but in 1873 the Northern Methodists still were in possession of eighteen churches and one parsonage.[318] The controversy over the church property in East Tennessee was finally settled by the Cape May Commissions in 1876.[319]

Although the Northern Church periodicals were filled with the reports of great success and in-gathering of members in East Tennessee, there was very little growth in the Church after the people of loyal sentiment had been organized into congregations. The membership of the Holston Conference in 1869 was reported as 20,698 members and 3,889 probationers. In 1876, at the close of the reconstruction period, the Holston Conference had 20,773 members, a gain of only seventy-five members; and the number of probationers had fallen to 2,692.[320]

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[315] Ibid., pp. 455-458.
[316] _Western Christian Advocate_, November 10, 1869.
[317] _Ibid._
[318] _Price_, _op_. _cit_., V. 5-31, 89.
[319] _Ibid_.

In December 1865, the Mississippi Mission Conference was organized by the Methodist Episcopal Church, thus making it the second conference to be organized in Southern territory following the war. After receiving the order from Secretary of War Stanton in November 1863, Bishop Ames and Dr. Harris visited Louisiana "upon business looking toward the reestablishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church."[321] According to Chaplain Brakeman of the First Indiana Artillery who was serving with the Federal forces in Louisiana at that time, the visit of the Northern churchmen was considered to be an "event of higher importance." He declared that "this journey of the bishop to the South is the beginning of a new era in American Methodism."[322] The commanding general of the Union forces also seemed to realize the importance of the bishop's visit, for he remarked that Bishop Ames was "making history very fast."[323] He found the Southern Methodist churches in Louisiana in a disorganized state, for most of the ministers of that denomination had fled when the Union forces occupied that region in 1862. The pulpit of the largest Methodist church in New Orleans, the Carondelet Street church, was reported to have been occupied by an Episcopal layman in August 1863. To one correspondent this state of affairs was such as to cause alarm: He wrote:

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[320] Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1869, p. 265; Ibid., for the year 1876, p. 321.
[321] Letter of Chaplain Brakeman to the Northwestern Christian Advocate, February 10, 1864.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Ibid.

> In the month of August, 1863, the Rev. J. G. Bass, Chaplain of the 90th Regiment, New York Volunteers, having occasion to visit this city, became acquainted with a Mrs. Corri, a member of the Carondelet Street Methodist Church. On attending the Sabbath services at that church, by her invitation, he found the pulpit occupied by a Episcopal layman, a Mr. Ozan, who being no longer at home in his own church, after the occupancy of its pulpit by a post chaplain appointed by General Butler, had accepted this Methodist pulpit. The secesh Sunday School also connected with the aforesaid Episcopal Church was united to that of the Methodist Church. I consider it a suggestive though not a solitary illustration of the power which our predominant sympathies have to hold in abeyance our minor antipathies and to control our associations, the truth contained in the old Proverb, 'Birds of a feather flock together.'"[324]

The churches of other denominations were described as being in an equally desperate situation. In 1864, the largest Presbyterian church in New Orleans was pictured by a correspondent as being without a pastor, the regular pastor the Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer, was said to be "now in Dixie," and "a polite secesh congregation assembles there from Sabbath to Sabbath, to listen to a temporary supply of orthodox Southern theology, and to offer sympathetic prayers in behalf of their eloquent and redoubtable absent pastor."[325]

Reverend John P. Newman (later bishop) was sent to New Orleans by the Board of Missions early in 1864 to take charge of Methodist reconstruction in that city. He took over the Carondelet Street church and organized a congregation in April 3, 1864. He began with a membership of fourteen and in two months time had increased it to thirty.[326] The church had a large membership before the war but according to a Northern Methodist writing to the North, "the congregation had dwindled down to a mere handful previous to the occupation of the premises by the Methodist Episcopal Church." Following the occupation by the Northern Methodists the Southern congregation withheld their attendance, and "followed their former leading trustee and steward to a neighboring Presbyterian church."[327] Meeting with bitter hostility from the Southern Methodists, who taunted him with "church stealing," he justified his position by declaring in a public address that it was in harmony with the theory of labor as held by the Northern Church; it was required by the state of the country; and that the movement into the South was justified by the disorganized and destitute condition of the Southern churches.[328] They stated that no title to the property had been conveyed to the Northern Church, and if there had been any robbing the accusation lay against the United States Government.[329]

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[324] "New Orleans Letter" of "W. T. G", to the Christian Advocate and Journal, September 8, 1864.

[325] Letter of "W. T. G." to the Christian Advocate and Journal, September 1864.

Although Newman laid the foundation for the work of the Northern Church in Louisiana, and edited a religious periodical which assisted in the prosecution of the movement, he lost his influence with the Negroes in that state, thereby making it necessary to go North after a few years of labor.[330]

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[326] Letter of "W. T. G." to the Christian Advocate and Journal, June 30, 1864.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Northwestern Christian Advocate, April 13, 1864, quoting the Christian Advocate and Journal.
[329] McPherson, op. cit., pp. 523-524.
[330] J. C. Hartzell to Newman, November 12, 1872. Hartzell MS. In possession of the Methodist Book Concern, Chicago. Hartzell wrote to Newman stating: "I have said all along and believed your friends here are many, and that all statements that the colored people had ceased to love and honor you, are not founded in fact."

Upon the arrival of Bishop Edward Thomson in New Orleans, in the fall of 1865, the possibility of organizing an Annual Conference was discussed, and after "much reflection and prayer, the Bishop determined to organize the Conference. . . . Both the convenience of the time, and the historical associations which the day recalled, pointed to Christmas as the most fitting time for this important movement."[331] On December 25, 1865, Bishop Thomson, addressing a group of Northern Methodists, said: "I feel authorized to organize an Annual Conference in New Orleans in view of the circumstances which surround us, and I do hereby recognize the following brethren as members; J. P. Newman, Joseph Welch, N. L. Brakeman, and W. M. Henry, elders; and H. G. Jackson, deacon."[332] At this session twelve local preachers, all colored, were elected to deacon's orders, and all of them were received on trial.[333]

In 1870, Reverend Joseph C. Hartzell was transferred from the Central Illinois to the Louisiana Conference and became one of the most prominent organizers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South. He served as pastor of the Ames church three years, after which he was appointed presiding elder of the New Orleans District. Sometime later he was instrumental in establishing and editing a religious periodical in New Orleans called the Southwestern Christian Advocate. He served in this capacity until elected Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1881.[334] Hartzell was probably the most energetic of the Northern Methodists who went South after the Civil War. In 1873, he attempted to set up a Book Concern in New Orleans to increase the influence of the Church in that section of the country. In a letter to the Book Agents in New York, Hartzell wrote: "We could control the school book trade. Mr. Brown, State Superintendent of Public Instruction is a colored man and a friend of yours. Captain- - - - who has charge of our city schools is a member of Ames Church. M. C. Cole, Mr. Brown's secretary, is a member of our conference. Of course our trade among the whites would be some and would yearly increase as the 'good time coming' of harmonious good feeling among all classes hastens."[335] The Southern Methodists bitterly opposed the establishment of a Book Concern in New Orleans, and Hartzell declared "we are already hearing the thunders of Book Room vengence but we know we are in the right and will triumph."[336] The New York Agents approved the project,[337] but it was eventually abandoned because of legal difficulties.[338]

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[331] Minutes of the Mississippi Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the years 1865 and 1866, p. 1.

[332] Ibid.

[333] Western Christian Advocate, January 10, 1866.

[334] The Christian Educator, (January, 1890), p. 52.

As presiding elder of the New Orleans District, Hartzell was anxious to organize the Church as rapidly as possible in that section. He advised a preacher in his district to extend his work. "Take up new points," he wrote, "Organize new churches. Visit every place where we have no church and try and plant one . . . and may the blessing of God be with you and strengthen you. God is with us in Louisiana."[339] To another preacher he gave the following directions: "I want you to select the four best points for preaching places among the colored people on the coast between the Gulf and as far up as you know. We must establish ourselves along the entire lower Coast this year."[340]

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[335] Hartzell to Nelson and Phillips, April 25, 1873. Hartzell MS.
[336] Hartzell to Bishop Haven, February 26, 1873. Hartzell MS.
[337] Hartzell to "Dear Rogers," April 14, 1873. Hartzell MS.
[338] Hartzell to Nelson and Phillips, April 25, 1873. Hartzell MS.
[339] Hartzell to J. W. Dunn, March 21, 1873. Hartzell MS.

Another prominent worker in the Northern Church in the Louisiana region was Reverend Lucius C. Matlack. He had long been connected with the abolition movement in the North, and was expelled from the Local Preacher's Association of Philadelphia for his activities as an anti-slavery agitator.[341] Following this incident he transferred to a more congenial group of Methodists in the New England Conference. During the war he served as a chaplain, enlistment officer, and field officer of Cavalry, and ended his war service by serving as Provost-Marshal of St. Louis.[342] Thus he went to the South with a varied experience. Like Newman, Matlack did not meet with great success in the South and returned to the North in 1872.[343]

The Northern Methodists were not as successful in retaining possession of the churches in New Orleans as in Tennessee. In 1865 a Southern Methodist minister from New Orleans went to Washington and made application to President Johnson and the Secretary of War for restoration of the churches in Louisiana to the Southern Methodists.[344] After a short period of time, President Johnson issued an order restoring the property, and the Carondelet Street Church in New Orleans along with several other churches were "rightfully remanded to our southern brethren."[345] The Radical government of the state, however, came to the rescue of the ousted Methodists, and the House of Representatives granted them the use of their hall for services while a church edifice was being erected.[346]

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[340] Hartzell to Bro. Woodward, April 25, 1873. *Hartzell MS.*

[341] Matlack, L. C., *Anti-Slavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1881), p. 370.

[342] *Ibid.*

[343] Hartzell to Matlack, October 1, 1872. *Hartzell MS.* Hartzell wrote: "I cannot blame you for prefering to live among your old friends. . . This field of labor is not one to be desired in any sense . . . only as being in the path of duty . . . social ostracism, manifest prejudice against the work in our chief councils, an inefficient corps of ministers to man the work and a people nine-tenths of whom are desperately low in morals are not just the thing to attract workers."

[344] Sweet, W. W., *Methodism in American History*, p. 308.

[345] Letter of C. C. North to *The Christian Advocate*, January 30, 1868.

The Northern Methodists met with the same bitter opposition in Louisiana as they had confronted in other parts of the South. John P. Newman, said in describing the situation in which the newly organized Conference found itself: "We were in an enemy's land; a majority of the white population watched us with a jealous eye; the old established churches refused to recognize us as co-laborers in a common cause, the Northern residents were afraid to worship with us, and the press, both secular and religious, denounced us as intruders."[347] Newman stated that he had expected such treatment "from the ungodly whites of the South, who fought against our benign government; but we had not anticipated open violence from Christian churches. We did not look for cooperation, but we had reason to expect non-interference." But, said he, "the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church, have not ceased to misrepresent our motives, to prophesy evil of our work, to mob our preachers, and break up our services."[348] One Methodist congregation was driven from its place of worship, according to one of the Northern preachers, and "not long since the house was clubbed and stoned, and a live cat thrown upon Brother Green, the pastor, in time of worship." The hostility toward this particular pastor and congregation did not cease with such manifestations of violence, but "after the congregation had left the building, the tables, seats, and chairs were literally broken into splinters."[349] During the New Orleans riot immediately after the war, several Negro Methodist preachers were murdered, and a church for Negroes was burned to the ground.[350] In 1872 Hartzell declared that "we are surrounded by enemies who would rejoice in our misfortunes,"[351] and during the elections in that year he confided to a Northern friend that "only the over-shadowing power and presence of Uncle Sam's boys in blue saved us."[352] In the same year, Hartzell wrote to Bishop Simpson and described the opposition of the Southern Methodists in New Orleans to the Northern preachers, stating that "the Church South is as firm against our success here as ever. Their best ministers are sent here. Their paper, resident bishop, book depository, etc., all combine to throw us in the shade among the whites. . . . Thus it is evident that for years we must expect to meet just what we are meeting among the whites now."[353] That his prophecy was true is evidenced by the fact that in the 1890's the Southern whites had not forgotten the actions of the Northern invaders who came South during and after the war. Dr. Hartzell, in 1893, deplored the spirit of the Southern press, and cited the following editorial on the death of General Butler as descriptive of the literary vulgarities and inaccuracies "which hinder the aspirations of all the Southerners who would be something if they only could":

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[346] The Christian Advocate, February 21, 1867.
[347] Forty-ninth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Epicsopal Church, for the year 1867, p. 115.
[348] Ibid.

> THE BEAST IS DEAD
>
> Old Ben Butler is dead! Early yesterday morning the angel

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[349] Western Christian Advocate, March 20, 1867.
[350] The Christian Advocate, August 23, 1866.
[351] Hartzell to Bro. Stiles, September 27, 1872. Hartzell MS.
[352] Hartzell to Bro. John, December 14, 1872. Hartzell MS.
[353] Hartzell to Bishop Simpson, October 1, 1872. Hartzell MS.

of death, acting under the devil's orders, took him from earth and landed him in hell. In all this Southern country there are no tears, no sighs; no regrets. He lived only too long. We are glad he has at last been removed from earth, and even pity the devil the possession he has secured.

His stay in the South was a curse to our people, and his dead body can not shake the estimate formed of his character when he sat in New Orleans as a military satrap, upon the lives and property of defenseless men and women . . .

He was a truckling demagogue, whose selfishness amounted to pollution; he was an autocrat, who used power to wreak personal revenge; he was mean and malignant, a hangman from prejudice, the insulter of women, a braggadocia, a trickster, and a scoundrel, whose heart was as black as the smoke from the coals that are now scorching his soul.

If there be a future of peace in store for Ben Butler after his entrance upon eternity, then there is no heaven, and the Bible is a lie. If hell be only as black as the Good Book describes it, then there are not the degrees of punishment in which Christian so firmly believe. He has gone, and from the sentence which has already been passed upon him, there is no appeal. He is already so deep down in the pit of everlasting doom that he couldn't get the most powerful ear-trumpet conceivable to scientists and hear the echoes of old Gabriel's trumpet; or fly a million kites and get a message to St. Peter, who stands guard at heaven's gates.

In our ~~statute~~-books many holidays are decreed. It was an egregious oversight that one on the occasion of Ben Butler was not foreordained. It should be a day of merry-making. The 'Beast' is dead. The cymbals should beat and the tin horn should get in its good work. Butler has gone where he can issue no more orders making the rape of Southern women a gala pastime. He has gone where there are no more spoons to be stolen. He has gone where it is not in his power to order hanged Southern gentlemen for alleged treason against Butlerism.

Good-bye Ben! You strutted through a few temporal triumphs; now rest, if you can, in the brimstone glare of hell. You laughed twenty-five years ago, when you branded your offensive personality upon the memories of your superiors. Now smile, if you can, when powerless and sunk so low as to be beyond the sympathy of even Christian men and women.[354]

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[354] The Christian Educator (October, 1893), pp. 16-17.

Prior to 1869 the boundary of the Mississippi Mission Conference included all the territory in the states of Louisiana and Mississippi,[355] but in that year the Louisiana Conference was separated from the Mississippi Conference, leaving the boundaries of each conference more or less along the state lines.[356] Bishop Simpson organized the Louisiana Conference at New Orleans in January 1869, and the great majority of its membership was among the colored people. In 1876, the Louisiana Conference had gained 9, 258 members, 2,029 probationers, and 6,703 Sunday scholars. During the years 1869 to 1876 the Conference had built ninety-seven churches and their value was estimated at $249,900.[357] In the Black Belt region of Mississippi, the Northern Church had received by the year 1876, a membership totaling 25,721, and 11,589 Sunday scholars were in attendance in the Sunday schools. The Mississippi Conference owned in that year two hundred and sixty-three churches valued at $180,920.[358]

Although one pioneer of the Northern Church in Mississippi reported that "we have a little opposition in a few places, but hardly more than enough to make it interesting,"[359] others declared that the opposition was threatening to wipe out the efforts at reconstruction in that state. Some of the Southern Methodists at Natchez opposed the Northern Church so violently that they would not worship with their members. The Southern church at that place had been sold to the Negroes, and the members preferred to worship with the Baptists.[360] A "secession fire" at Columbus destroyed a colored church and school-house, and the janitor, a colored sexton, sleeping in one of the upper rooms, perished in the flames. The correspondent reporting this outrage, declared that "the blood cries aloud for vengeance. O Lord, how long!"[361] Reverend James Lynch, the presiding elder of the Jackson District, declared that "the opposition to our Church is so violent that the pioneer of Methodism in Mississippi is ever in danger," and announced in plain words that he had resolved as a last resort, to "preach or fight."[362] The struggle for the enlistment of the colored people in Mississippi between the two Churches was so severe that Bishop Simpson declared that one Southern Methodist minister "came to Canton during the session of our Conference and plead most earnestly with one of the colored ministers not to join us."[363] At the same time he reported that many of the preachers of the Mississippi Conference were "threatened with death; knives were drawn against them; pistols pointed at them, Ku Klux Klans visited the abodes of some of them, and one Presiding Elder of the Church South, it is said, publicly threatened one of our ministers that he would meet with injury if he dared to visit his region of country again."[364]

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[355] Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1868, p. 313.

[356] Simpson, Matthew, Cyclopaedia of Methodism (Philadelphia, 1878), p. 623.

[357] Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1876, p. 256.

[358] Ibid., p. 173.

[359] Letter of Rev. W. N. Danrell to The Christian Advocate, September 5, 1867.

[360] Letter of Miss Phebe Palmer to The Christian Advocate, April 11, 1867.

The reconstruction of Methodism in West Tennessee was at first under the direction of Bishop Matthew Simpson, and steps in the direction of that undertaking were made by the bishop soon after receiving the order from Secretary Stanton in 1863. Following the Union army into Tennessee, he appeared in Nashville in January 1864 and prepared to take over the churches in that city.[365] The McKendree Methodist Church, one of the most influential of the Southern churches in the city, had been abandoned by the pastor, Dr. Baldwin, when the Federal troops captured the city. According to a correspondent writing to the North, Dr. Baldwin had to evacuate the church on short notice. He stated that "the renegade, Dr. Baldwin, who was pastor of that church when Ft. Doneldson fell, and who on the Sabbath that the news arrived preached his famous sermon on the sin of cowardice, with a fiew to the resistence of the Yankees, mingled his benediction with 'Oh brethren, let us skedaddle! as he received the news of the proximity of our gunboats."[366] After an interview with General Grant and General Johnson, during which he obtained the cooperation of the military, Simpson put the Reverend M. J. Cramer of the Cincinnati Conference in charge of McKendree Church. Cramer was the brother-in-law of General U. S. Grant and this connection made it possible to obtain a number of favors from the Federal forces.[367] McKendree Church had been occupied for some time by the army and was in dire need of refurnishing before fit for divine worship. In a short time Cramer wrote to Bishop Simpson stating that he had an order from General Grant commanding the chief quartermaster of the army to refit the place for worship.[368] Although Cramer had to do a great deal toward supervising the work himself, the church was opened in June 1864 for divine service.[369]

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[361] The Christian Advocate, February 21, 1867.
[362] Letter of Rev. J. Lynch to The Christian Advocate, September 24, 1868.
[363] Letter of Bishop Simpson to the Zion's Herald, January 28, 1869.
[364] Ibid.
[365] Crooks, op. cit., p. 440.

On his visit to Nashville for the opening of the church, Bishop Simpson was obliged to preach in the Hall of the House of Representatives, chiefly to army men and Northerners who had followed the army, for as he wrote to his wife, "my congregation will be small. The citizens care nothing about us, except to dislike us."[370] On this trip into Tennessee, Bishop Simpson was invited to Knoxville by Parson Brownlow, but was unable to make the trip because of flood conditions in East Tennesee.

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[366] Letter of W. H. Makeaney to the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, July 13, 1864.
[367] Letter of S. L. Hamilton to the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, April 6, 1864.
[368] Crooks, *op. cit.*, p. 441.
[369] *Ibid.*

The seizure of this prominent church in Nashville caused the Southern Methodists to charge the Northern Church with "church stealing". This accusation caused them some discomfort. Although T. H. Pearne was informed that the title to the church "was in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church" and the parsonage as well,[371] another Northern preacher, making a vacation tour of the occupied sections of the South in 1865, was not so sure that the seizure of this church would benefit the Church. He said: "Of course we are charged with stealing from the Church, South, and in the end it may prove not to have been the best policy to have accepted property so seized."[372] His solution to the problem of property rights in the matter was offered at the same time. He continued, "if we could secure the churches and parsonages as the issue of a civil suit, establishing our right to all such property within the bounds of what was once the Methodist Episcopal Church, South--and I think such an issue could be reached, for every church and parsonage deeded prior to the division of the Church stands on the record as belonging to us--if this view could be embodied in a judicial decision then the case would be vastly different from what it now is. We could not in such an event be branded, as we are now, as thieves and robbers."[373] The problem of property rights in the particular case of the McKendree Church did not concern the

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[370] Crooks, op. cit., p. 440.

[371] Letter of T. H. Pearne to the Western Christian Advocate, June 7, 1865.

[372] Letter of "Reynard" to the Christian Advocate and Journal, August 24, 1865.

[373] Ibid.

Northern Methodists for long, owing to the order of President Johnson which restored the church to its rightful owners in 1866. The Southerners were glad to repossess the historic church. One Northern preacher stated that "cheese never pleased mice better than Mr. Johnson pleased them, the morning he let them reenter M'Kendree Chapel."[374]

Following the cessation of hostilities, Dr. John B. McFerrin of the Southern Church, returned from Johnston's army, and called upon Governor Brownlow to discuss matters concerning the welfare of the Church in that section. Brownlow recognized him, and remarked, "Well, Mac, you know what the hymn says, 'And while the lamp holds out to burn, The vilest sinner may return,' and God knows you fill the bill."[375] Following this encounter with the Parson, McFerrin sought and obtained an interview with Bishop Clark of the Northern Church and plead with him not to organize that Church in the South. Pearne's account of this visit is as follows:

> By the Bishop's request, Dr. Adam Poe and myself were present on that occasion. . . . Dr. McFerrin earnestly urged the bishop to desist from, or to defer, his purpose to reorganize the old Church in the South. He hoped to see an organic union of the two M. E. Churches after the passions and animosities of the war had subsided. He thought the reorganization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in East Tennessee would revive the smouldering embers of sectionalism, and defer for a long time, if not forever, the fulfillment of his hope for such a reunion. . . . The bishop said the Methodist Episcopal Church could not ignore the Macedonian cry coming from those sheep without shepherds and a fold and that, finally, to provide for these and any others in the South who might ask or need such provision, would not, in his opinion, retard, but, on the contrary, would hasten, the organic unity desired, whenever the hour for it should really strike. Dr. Poe said but little, and I said nothing.[376]

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[374] Letter of D. J. Holmes to The Christian Advocate, August 30, 1866.
[375] Pearne, op. cit., p. 313.
[376] Ibid., p. 308.

General Clinton B. Fisk, the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for Kentucky and Tenneseee, was active in Methodist reconstruction in Tennessee. In 1866, the colored church organized by the Northern Methodists elected General Fisk as superintendent of the Sunday school "with a perfect shout."[377] Although he said "there are some of the meanest unsubjugated and unreconstructed rascally rebellious revolutionists . . . that curse the soil of the country"[378] in that region, he was fair in his administration of the affairs of the Freedmen's Bureau, and held in high esteem by the Southern Methodists. He did much toward establishing an era of good feeling between the two Churches. Immediately after the war, a Negro evangelist had created excitement among the whites of Tennessee by being reported as an insurrectionist, and they asked General Fisk for protection against the reported uprising. Fisk made a journey of several miles to find the "old insurrectionist," and upon reaching the cabin of the "dark-faced evangelist" told him of the charges made against him, whereupon the old Negro instantly responded, "I'se not preaching in-surrection, Massa General, I'se preaching de res-urrection, and dey don't understand it."[379]

In 1866, Reverend W. F. Pearne reported that opportunities for the work of the Northern Church in the reconstruction of Methodism were multiplying in West Tennessee, and active men were needed in that area. Multitudes of loyal Methodists, he said, were awaiting the establishment of the "old Church."[380] Another missionary announced that his efforts had been successful in that section of the country, that "many backsliders" had been "reclaimed, and Christians in general blessed." He stated that the "cause of the Church is gaining ground all tho time. All that is necessary is for people to understand the workings of the Church, and then the largest proportion will unite with us."[381] The statistics of the missionary district of Middle Tennessee for 1866 showed that there were gathered into church organizations, bodies of ministers and members with properly organized stations and circuits, a sufficient number to constitute a nucleus for the organization of an annual conference. Bishop Clark made that territory the object of his special attention during the summer of 1866,[382] and came to the conclusion that if Tennessee was to be saved from barbarism, the Methodist Episcopal Church, with divine aid, must do it. In a letter to a friend, the bishop said, "Governor Johnson repeated to me again and again, 'Tennessee will tolerate no two sects of the same denomination, one founded on slavery and treason, and the other loyal.'"[383] During the same summer, Clark wrote to a co-laborer in Cincinnati and said that some of the reasons that led the bishops of the Northern Church to settle the matter of organizing a conference in that section were, namely, "the feeling of the Church, so far as we could gather it, was decidedly in favor of such a measure; and a feeling of disappointment would take place if it were not done; and it established the fact that we were in the South to stay; the effect of which, in both the North and South, would be good."[384]

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[377] Bishop Clark to Mrs. Clark, January 23, 1866, as cited in Curry, op. cit., p. 216.
[378] Fleming, W. L., Documents Relating to Reconstruction (Morgantown, W. Va., 1904), Nos. 6 and 7, pp. 38-39.
[379] Speech of General Fisk at the Anniversary of the Missionary Society, New York, January 14, 1867, as reported in the Zion's Herald, January 23, 1867.
[380] Western Christian Advocate, July 11, 1866.

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[381] Ibid., August 29, 1866.
[382] Curry, op. cit., p. 226.
[383] Ibid., pp. 206-207.
[384] Ibid., pp. 229-230.

The general progress of the missionaries among the loyal people led to the organization of an annual conference in West Tennessee. On October 11, 1866, the ministers in that section met Bishop Clark at Murfreesboro, and the Tennessee Conference was organized. The following elders were recognized as members of the new conference: John Seys, A. A. Gee, D. Rutledge, W. M. Pearne, Wesley Prettyman, Henry Stevens, Lucious Hawkins, W. Z. Ross, William Earnshaw, I. W. Yarbrough, J. H. Caldwell, R. H. Waters, John Murphy, C. W. Parker, William Brewer, H. O. Hoffman, R. D. Utter, Amos A. Brown, and C. T. Frame. The following were recognized as probationers and were made responsible to the new conference: A. S. Lakin, I. P. Powell, W. P. Critchlow, and C. M. Caldwell.[385] About forty ministers were given appointments. Fourteen colored preachers were ordained, and a number of them were admitted to the Conference.[386] The statistics of the Conference for the year 1866 revealed a membership of 2,689, of whom 915 were white; 484 probationers, eighty-five of whom were white; ten white and forty-five colored local preachers; a total of 3,183 colored and 1,010 white members. Out of fourteen churches, seven were listed as belonging to the whites. During the following year, great progress was reported by the ministers of the Northern Church, especially among the colored people. Among the whites of West Tennessee the Northern Methodists were not so successful. In 1872, a minister in Memphis reported that "Our society, the only one for whites in this city of some 50,000 inhabitants, now, after five years merely have a nominal existence, having been driven from hall to court-room, and, until now, no place they could call home. The consequence is, a feeble few."[387] To the prospective Northerners coming South, he advertized the location of his church in the city and what cars to take in order to get there.[388]

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[385] Western Christian Advocate, October 17, 1866.

[386] Curry, op. cit., p. 231. Minutes of the Tennessee Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1866, p. 13.

As in other parts of Tennessee, the missionaries of the Northern Church met with bitter opposition in their attempt to reconstruct the Church in West Tenneseee. One of the ministers writing to the North declared:

> We had to overcome difficulties, and encounter opposition strong enough to appall the stoutest heart. . . . opposition in almost every conceivable shape. We had not control of a single house of worship, and there were very few school-houses throughout the country; consequently, as in frontier times, we had to preach in private houses, under trees, and build bush harbors in which to worship. . . . For some months we toiled almost in vain. We could not form classes, or organize societies, because the people who sympathized with us did not dare identify themselves with us on account of threats made, and prejudices raised against us. We were denounced by the ministry of the Churches established here. Articles reflecting injuriously upon our character and motives were published in some of the religious papers; privately we were traduced and slandered, and almost all sorts of infamous things were told on us and the Church we represent. In some cases deadly weapons were drawn before the preachers, and they were threatened with violence. When they had been invited by the people to preach in houses which they had built, the titles of which were held by the Southern Church, the doors were locked, and in some instances nailed up against them. . . . But the few brethren left to labor with us were not to be deterred or discouraged in their work. They toiled on . . . trusting in God.[389]

The churches in West Tennessee were not seized by the Northern Methodists to the same extent as in East Tennessee, and as a consequence most of them were in the hands of the Southern Methodists in the former region. The Southerners opposed "what they were pleased to denominate encroachments upon their rights" by the Northern Church, and refused to unite with them or to treat them "with that courtesy which is enjoined in the Gospel as a Christian duty."[390]

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[387] Western Christian Advocate, August 28, 1872.

[388] Ibid.

[389] Western Christian Advocate, October 2, 1867.

At the close of the reconstruction period in 1876 the Tennessee Conference had been able to recruit 10,594 members, 1,674 probationers, and 8,359 Sunday scholars. The 192 churches were valued at $206,940,[391] and the seven parsonages were listed at an evaluation of $2,500.[392]

When the Confederate army evacuated Charleston, South Carolina, in February 1865, and the Northern army took possession of the city, the way opened for Methodist reconstruction in that part of the South. Shortly after the capture of Charleston, Reverend T. Willard Lewis, of the New England Conference came from Beaufort to Charleston with the authority from Secretary of War Stanton to seize all unoccupied Methodist churches.[393] He immediately took possession of all the property of the Southern Methodist Church in the city. Dr. Daniel Curry, editor of the Christian Advocate and Journal, wrote to the North and announced that Lewis "got the permission of the official boards of the churches to turn over the churches to him,"[394] but this statement was refuted by Reverend John Q. Willson, a member of the Southern Church in Charleston at the time the incident occurred. Willson stated that "not one of our trustees or stewards made such a request."[395] Following his appearance in the city, Lewis managed to induce the Union army commander to issue an order giving his full possesion of the church property.[396] After receiving the order giving him "sole charge" of the church property, Lewis permitted the whites to occupy one church building, and gave the blacks the authority to occupy two other churches.[397] Prior to this time the Negroes had occupied the same church buildings as the white people, sitting in a certain part of the church as was the custom throughout the South.

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[390] Ibid., November 14, 1866.
[391] Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1876, p. 332.
[392] Minutes of the Tennessee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1876, p. 45.
[393] Willson, John O., "Sketch of the Methodist Church in Charleston, S. C., 1785-1887," in the Year Book, 1887, City of Charleston, South Carolina, pp. 365-366.
[394] Letter of Dr. Curry to the Christian Advocate and Journal, March 23, 1865.

The Methodists of South Carolina, before and during the war, had taken great pride in the mission work among the Negroes, but the occupation of that section by the Northern army put an end to this endeavor. Immediately after the war disintegration set in, "and by it the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church was despoiled of the fruits of nearly a century's labor."[398] The Negro membership of the Southern Church in 1864 in South Carolina was 47,461, and in 1865 this number was diminished to 26,283, a loss in one year of 21,178. There was a large declension of Negro members yearly, and twelve years afterwards the colored members ceased to be reported at all.[399] While the establishment of the Colored Methodist Church in America saved a few of the Negroes to the influence of the Southern Methodist Church, the larger number went into other Church organizations; the Northern army chaplains "aiding largely the disintegration."[400]

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[395] Willson, op. cit., pp. 365-366.

[396] The order is given in Willson, loc. cit., and the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, March 23, 1865, and reads as follows:

> Headquarters, U. S. Forces.
> Charleston, S. C., March 10, 1865.
>
> At the request of the stewards and trustees of the M. E. Churches in Charleston, as the former pastors have left the city, the Rev. T. Willard Lewis, as regularly-appointed missionary of the M.E. Church, is appointed to the sole charge of the M.E. Churches and parsonages of this city, in accordance with directions from the War Department dated Dec. 9, 1863.
>
> By order of
> Steward L. Woodford, Col. Comd'g.
> By H. H. Jencks, Capt. and Asst. Adjt.--Gen'l.

[397] Willson, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-366.

[398] Chreitzbert, A.M., *Early Methodist in the Carolinas* (Nashville, 1897) p. 158.

[399] *Ibid.*

There was some discussion of a union between the two Methodisms in South Carolina in 1865, but as one observer announced from Charleston "as occupation seems to be a more popular and significant word with the Northern Church than reconstruction, the probability is that the two organizations will remain as they are, separate and distinct bodies, for some years to come."[401] After a few months in Charleston, Lewis was of the opinion that little could be done "to save the white members, and much less the ministers of the South to the M. E. Church."[402] In reply to Drs. Stevens and Durbin of the Northern Church who advocated reunion in the South, Lewis stated:

> I wish Drs. Stevens or Durbin would make it a matter of experiment here in South Carolina. I have conversed with a number of ministers of the South Carolina Conference within the last two weeks, and to a man they loathe our Northern idea of liberty and equal rights in Church and State before the law. Now this thing to my mind is certain: 1. The colored Methodist people will form the only material for a Methodist Episcopal Church as a rule; 2. Southern preachers will not be at all acceptable among this class; 3. Northern men, no matter how conservative, will not be at all acceptable to but a very small portion of the whites in the south for years to come . . . Death and Northern immigration is our only help.[403]

It was soon apparent that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was going to make a struggle for Charleston, and that "their Mecca must be saved at all cost."[404] In referring to Lewis and his labor in Charleston, Dr. Curry declared that "Brother Lewis is having a hard time with 'the beasts of Ephesus,' such as Paul fought with . . . We have very little to expect from the South Carolina Conference . . . I fear the war is ending too soon and too abruptly for the good of the South or the peace of the Country."[405]

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[400] Ibid., p. 158.
[401] Letter of "Nimrod" to the Christian Advocate and Journal, October 5, 1865.
[402] Letter of Rev. T. W. Lewis to the Christian Advocate and Journal, June 8, 1865.
[403] Ibid.

Acting upon the authority of the General Conference, Bishop Osmon C. Baker organized the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Charleston, on April 2, 1866. At the time of organization the Conference had only four preachers, but during the session of the Conference two additional preachers were added to the roll, and five were admitted on trial. Bishop Baker appointed two of the ministers as presiding elders, eight were assigned to pastoral charges, and one minister was appointed as chaplain in the Federal army.[406] At this Conference, two districts were formed, the Charleston and Florida,[407] and Bishop Baker stationed eight of the ministers to the Charleston district, while two were sent to Florida. Not having enough ministers to send to all appointments, fifteen were left to be supplied in the two districts.[408] At the time of its organization, the South Carolina Conference reported eleven traveling and sixteen local preachers, 3,175 members and 1,674 Sunday scholars.[409] In December 1866, Lewis reported that "we have organized since January 1866, fourteen circuits, with from two to nine regular preaching places in each, mostly supplied by devoted colored preachers, who are well qualified save in the 'letter' . . . their earnest and self-sacrificing labors and cooperation to extend the borders of what they call the 'Old John Wesley Church' are worthy of all commendation."[410] In 1867, Lewis had been so succesful in the reconstruction of Methodism in South Carolina that he had organized eighty-three preaching places and had mustered a ministerial force of twenty-one traveling preachers and 104 local preachers or exhorters. In three months he had traveled 2,100 miles, and "preached or lectured eighty-three times, an average of nearly three times per day."[411]

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[404] Letter of "Nimrod" to The Christian Advocate, March 29, 1866.
[405] The Christian Advocate and Journal, May 18, 1865.
[406] Western Christian Advocate, March 27, 1867.
[407] Simpson, op. cit., p. 821.
[408] Western Christian Advocate, March 27, 1867.
[409] Forty-Ninth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1867, p. 141.

When the Federal authorities returned the seized churches to the Southern Methodists, Lewis persuaded the Negro Methodists in Charleston to desert these churches and follow him to the newly organized societies.[412] The Northern Methodists purchased a church from the Baptists of the city, but when the latter found it was to be used as a Negro church, they attempted to cansel the sale, demanding that the Methodists pay $20,000 in gold coin on short notice. The resourceful Methodists raised the money in the time allotted and established a Negro congregation in the church.[413] Although the Northern Church reported evidences of success in the periodicals of that denomination, it signally failed in its endeavor to bring the whites into the fold of the Church, and had success chiefly among the Negroes. The membership of the South Carolina Conference was almost wholly made up of Negroes.[414] One correspondent to The Christian Advocate announced that "Methodism . . . is rising in this late hot-bed of treason. . . . Not the Methodism represented by the M. E. Church, South; but the Methodism which lived in the smothered principles and emotions of a loyal but down-trodden people . . . the 'common people,' the great masses of the colored population, are severing their connection with disloyal Churches, and are flocking en masse to those who have been true to humanity and 'de ole flag'; and what is true of Charleston will be true of the whole South."[415] Although the Northerners were successful among the Negroes, even that group showed signs of impatience with their attempt to control their religious activities, and they seemed to welcome it with no more enthusiasm than did the Southern whites. "Some of our friends," said a Beaufort Negro writing in a Negro periodical, "do more in the way of keeping farms and keeping our poor race in ignorance than in anything else. . . . When they see the cotton bag they forget about saving souls . . . They pat the negro on the shoulder with the left hand, while with the right they catch hold of his pocketbook."[416] "No other people in Protestant Christendom," wrote the Reverend Dr. Abel after inspecting the Negro churches, "show so imperfect a religious development. . . . Their public devotions . . . are generally characterized by extravagance, which would not be tolerated by a Christian people."[417]

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[410] Simpson, op. cit., p. 821.
[411] Western Christian Advocate, August 7, 1867.
[412] Willson, op. cit., p. 369.
[413] Letter of "W" from Charleston, to The Christian Advocate, April 26, 1866.
[414] Simkins, Francis B., "White Methodism in South Carolina During Reconstruction" in The North Carolina Historical Review (January, 1928), V, pp. 38-39.

The persecutions reported by the Northern Methodists in South Carolina were no less severe than in other parts of the South. Southerners resented the attempted reconstruction of both Church and State. Reverend

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[415] Letter of M. Norton in The Christian Advocate, January 18, 1866.

[416] Christian Record (Charleston) August 14, 1867, as cited in Simkins, op. cit., p. 39.

[417] New York Methodist, quoted in Southern Christian Advocate, and cited in Simkins, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

T. W. Lewis, the pioneer of the Northern Church in South Carolina, met with opposition while filling his appointments in the Charleston District. On one occasion, while awaiting the arrival of a train, some twenty men, "many of whom had revolvers dangling from their belts," confronted him and asked abruptly if he were "the d...d Yankee preacher who harangued the niggers here yesterday?" He replied that he was a minister of the Gospel and had preached in the vicinity the day before, whereupon his authority for doing so was sternly demanded, to which he replied, "What authority do you wish? Will that of General Sickles or Devens be sufficient?" The Southerners replied, "No; D...n General Sickles and Devens, and the whole Yankee nest. We have fought them for four years, and would like to fight them four more." Attempting to appease them, Lewis replied: "We should appeal to law to have our grievances redressed," and they replied: "We make and execute our own laws on Yankees here, and we will hang on the first tree any Yankee teacher or preacher who dares come into this district." The reporter of this incident stated "as a colored man came up, one of the men drew his revolver, and pointed it at the colored man's head, threatened to blow out his brains. Another man joined the company who were insulting Lewis, and with horrid profanity approached him, saying he ought to have his throat cut, and if any one would join him he would do it then. Lewis was told that if he ever came there again to preach they would make mince meat of him."[418] In 1868, the Reverend B. F. Randolph, a member of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and a South Carolina State Senator, was murdered while standing on the platform of a train. He had made a speech the night before at Abbeville Court House. "We do not learn," said the correspondent reporting the murder, "that any of our Southern Methodist editors are anxious for the arrest of the murderers."[419] Some of the Southern Methodist ministers of South Carolina were accused by the Northern Methodists of participating in the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. One informant wrote to the Northwestern Christian Advocate and described the activities of a "Reverend KuKlux." He wrote:

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[418] The Christian Advocate, June 7, 1866.

> Perhaps the most remarkable case of Reverend Ku Klux that has come to light is that of Rev. L. D. Carpenter of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. At a certain time thirty chiefs of Ku Klux dens were to have appeared in Spartanburg, S. C., and murdered all the white Union men of that place, including Rev. A. W. Cummings, D. D., and Rev. W. F. Parker, or if these men were not found their houses were to have been burned by these chiefs, and this Confederate saint, this ministerial Ku Klux, this unhung villian (Rev. L. D. Carpenter) was to have led these chiefs to the houses of the Union men in Spartanburg, that they might have been murdered in cold blood! The timely arrival of troops prevented. . . . Conference came on and the name of Carpenter was called, and the usual response of 'nothing against him' was given. Knowing these facts, the Conference indorsed this man's character and allowed him to go. . . .[420]

When the Federal authorities made an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan activities in the South, and put a stop to such lawlessness, the Northern Methodists were greatly relieved. "It is quite impossible for our friends here to express their gratitude to God, and the government, for the effecient measures adopted to bring these nefarious outlaws to justice," said one correspondent; "stern justice is laying its powerful hand upon them. Hundreds are surrendering to the authorities, and confess-ing their guilt. These confessions are implicating our white citizens of all professions, not even exempting professed ministers of the Gospel. Some of them have suddenly left their pastoral charges, and fled to parts unknown."[421] Another Northern Methodist wrote: "The tables are turned. The Republicans are sleeping securely in their houses, and the Ku Klux Democrats who have not run away, are sleeping in the woods."[422]

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[419] Northwestern Christian Advocate, October 28, 1868.
[420] Ibid., January 24, 1872.

At the close of the reconstruction period of 1876 the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church had gained 26,271 members, 4,270 probationers, and enrolled 11,532 Sunday scholars. The Conference had erected or purchased 241 churches, and their value was estimated at $188,432.[423]

While the reconstruction of Methodism was in progress in the Southeastern states, Bishop Matthew Simpson was attending to the efforts toward that end in the West. On January 3, 1867, he organized the Texas Mission Conference,[424] at Houston. A few missionaries had been sent into that region following the war, and in 1867 they had gathered a membership of 1,584, erected five church buildings and laid the foundations of the Northern Church. Bishop Simpson reported that eighteen ministers constituted the nucleus of the new Conference.[425] Bishop Ames presided over the Conference in the following year, admitting twelve new ministers on trial, and ordained three as elders in the Church.[426] In 1868 the General Conference of the Northern Church constituted the Texas Conference as an Annual Conference with full powers,[427] and fixed its boundaries as including the whole state of Texas.[428] In 1870, five districts had been organized in the Texas Conference, and Reverend J. Welch of the Philadelphia Conference, who had been transferred to Texas for the purposes of organization, was put in charge of the movement.[429] The General Conference of 1872 authorized the division of the Texas Conference into two or more conferences, provided it should be so desired by two-thirds of the members, and that the presiding bishop should concur.[430] Accordingly, the western part of the Conference was set off as a separeate Conference, and the work among the German population was also constituted into a separate body, called the Southern German Conference. These changes in the organization of the Church were approved by the General Conference of 1876.[431] The Southern German Conference started with two districts, and fifteen preaching appointments.[432] In 1877, the Southern German Conference had twenty-five traveling preachers, twelve local preachers, 1,095 members, 1,011 scholars in the Sunday schools, twenty-three churches valued at $32,625, and thirteen parsonages, valued at $6,200.[433]

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[421] Zion's Herald, November 30, 1871.

[422] Ibid., December 7, 1871.

[423] Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1876, p. 175.

[424] Phelan, Macum, A History of the Expansion of Methodism in Texas, 1867-1902, (Dallas, 1937), p. 43; Western Christian Advocate, May 13, 1868; Simpson, op. cit., p. 857.

[425] Simpson, op. cit., p. 857.

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[426] Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year, 1868, p. 9.
[427] Western Christian Advocate, May 13, 1868.
[428] Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1868, p. 317.
[429] Western Christian Advocate, February 2, 1870.
[430] Simpson, op. cit., p. 857.
[431] Ibid.
[432] Western Christian Advocate, February 12, 1873.
[433] Simpson, op. cit., p. 822.

The division of the Conference in Texas resulted in forming three Conferences, namely the Texas, West Texas, and the Southern German. This action was necessary, "as some of the preachers had to travel from 200 to 500 miles to get to Conference." Some of the presiding elder's districts were reported to cover a larger area than the state of Ohio.[434]

Although the Northern Church had expected to receive a great number of the whites into the Church, the work of the Church was confined largely to the colored people, with the exception of the German population.[435] In 1876, the enrollment of the three Conferences totaled only 16,167 members.[436]

The people of Texas were hardly in the frame of mind to accept reconstruction of the Church in that state from the hands of the Northern Methodists. After holding the Texas Conference at Austin, in 1869, Bishop Simpson reported the violence with which the ministers of the Northern Church, had to contend. He announced that "in some sections of the State our brethren have suffered severely from persecution, and one of our preachers, J. F. Brooks, a colored man, was most inhumanly tortured and murdered . . . they proceeded first to break his legs, then to cut out his bowels, and finally hanged him to a tree! His murderers have not been punished, nor has there been a serious effort to arrest them." "In another locality," he reported, "a few of our members were one evening assembled to hold a prayer-meeting. A band of men surrounded the house, ordered the men, five in number, to come out, and immediately shot them down in cold blood. As the natural result of these persecutions, our membership has been compelled to flee, and whole societies have been broken up; yet . . . I meet leading men in the community who take great pains to assure me that there is not the slightest opposition to our Church."[437] Bishop Simpson did not think that this violence against the Northern Methodists in Texas "has been directed against our people simply because they are Methodists, nor yet, as they are termed here, Northern Methodists, but because they are supposed to be identified with Radical movements and the Radical party."[438] In addition to the violent persecution of the Northern Methodists in Texas, they also met with social ostracism. "In all parts of the State, even in the great commercial centers, where there is perfect security, there exists a species of social ostracism," Bishop Simpson informed the Methodists of Boston and vicinity, but he said, "This is not exercised against all Northern men, but against such as they call Radicals. If a business man from the North denounces the United States Government, abuses the Freedmen's Bureau, and curses the Negro, there is little objection to receiving him into good society," but if he "expresses anti-slavery views, if he seeks by personal efforts to educate or to elevate the negro, or, which is the greatest sin of all, if he should join the Methodist Episcopal Church he and his family are made to feel that they are shut out from society. No one of the ladies who lead society will call upon such a family, and association with them is shunned in almost every possible way."[439] Simpson stated that the Northern and Southern men met and freely engaged in business transactions and enterprises, and exchanged all the courtesies of public life, but their families had no such associations.

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[434] Western Christian Advocate, January 29, 1873.

[435] Ibid.

[436] Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1876, pp. 358, 359, 360.

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437 Letter of Bishop Simpson to The Christian Advocate, February 18, 1869.
438 Ibid.
439 Zion's Herald, March 18, 1869.

The reconstruction of the Church in the states of Virginia and North Carolina began immediately after Bishop Baker had received the assistance of the Federal Government through the orders issued by the War Department. In December 1863, the Reverend J. Emory Round was appointed by Bishop Baker as missionary to North Carolina. He was selected to initiate the reconstruction program in this territory in view of his knowledge of the "spiritual needs of the Freedmen and others."[440] Round had begun his activities toward reconstruction even before the bishops of the Church received the military orders or before the General Conference of 1864 sanctioned the undertaking. He organized several churches in North Carolina while serving as a captain in the Union army.[441] In 1866, the occupancy of Virginia and North Carolina was begun in earnest, and Reverend John S. Mitchell of New York was appointed superintendent of the mission work in these states by Bishop Levi Scott. Mitchell reached Gaston County, North Carolina, on the 9th of August, and initiated the work.[442] At that time the Methodist Episcopal Church did not have a minister or member "from the summit of the Blue Ridge to the ocean." Having no large group of people of Union sentiment in that section, Mitchell finally collected a few Southerners who "desired a home in the old Church," one minister from the Methodist Church, South, and organized the first congregation.[443] At this time there were no churches under the control of the Northern Church, and as a consequence, most of the preaching had to be done in the open air.

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[440] Christian Advocate and Journal, December 17, 1863.
[441] Ibid.
[442] Sixth Annual Report of the Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1871, pp. 50-51.
[443] Ibid.

In the next year the Virginia and North Carolina Mission Conference was organized by Bishop Scott, and held its first session at Portsmouth, Virginia, on January 3, 1867. At this session, the Conference reported fourteen ministers, 671 members, eight Sunday schools, and 463 Sunday scholars.[444] As the result of four months work in North Carolina, Mitchell was able to report a gain of 510 members and probationers, one half of whom were Negroes.[445]

The second session of the Conference met in Richmond, Virginia in January 1868, Bishop E. S. Janes presiding. During the session, Governor Peirpont, the reconstruction governor of Virginia, addressed the members of the Conference who "received him standing." A correspondent to The Christian Advocate stated that "The Governor said . . . it gave him pleasure to assure the ministers present that they had his wishes, sympathies, anxieties, and prayers for success." Quoting the Governor, the informant wrote: "In this trying period, when the very foundations of social systems are broken up; when hatred to the government is encouraged by base men in the sections in which you are called upon to labor; and when it is known that you, as ministers, are loyal to the powers that be, yours is an important work, and in it you have my cordial sympathies." In reply to the Governor, Bishop Janes expressed the appreciation of the Conference for his words of encouragement and kindness.[446]

In 1868, North Carolina was separated from the Virginia territory, and the General Conference in that year fixed the boundaries of the two Conferences. The Virginia Conference included all of the territory of the state of Virginia not embraced in the Baltimore and Wilmington Conferences, and also the counties of Pocahontas, Green Brier, and Monroe, in the state of West Virginia.[447] The North Carolina Conference was given the territory in that state, excepting the ten counties west of the Blue Ridge mountains.[448] The General Conference of 1868 also recognized the Virginia and North Carolina Conferences as legal conferences.[449]

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[444] Simpson, op. cit., p. 892.
[445] Sixth Annual Report of the Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1871, pp. 51-52.
[446] The Christian Advocate, January 16, 1868.

The ministers of the Northern Church labored under difficulties while attempting to organize the Church in Virginia. One minister wrote to the North and recounted the experience of the Northern ministers in that state. He said:

> The ministry of all denominations are against us, and our occupancy of this territory as ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and its organization into circuits and stations, is denounced by them as anti-Christian, and our expulsion would be regarded by them as merited punishment for our presumption in entering it. Our Church is misrepresented and abused beyond all precedent, and its ministry and people subjected to manifold and unusual annoyances. . . . And foremost in this unhallowed persecution are those who were formerly our ministerial brethren.[450]

The first session of the North Carolina Conference was held in Alexandria County, in January 1869, Bishop Ames presiding over the new body. The ministers who had labored in that state reported the strength of the Conference at 794 members and probationers, four local preachers, and five churches evaluated at $2,600.[451] One of the ministers, reporting the result of their organization in 1871 said: "God is owning the work in the conversion of souls, besides which nothing is so cheering to the faithful toiler, who has been locked out of churches and school-houses, or allowed to occupy merely on suffrance, as to stand in our own pulpits, in our own churches, and to see pentitents at our own altars."[452] Not so successful with the whites of North Carolina, this correspondent announced that "our work is opening grandly, especially among the colored people in the eastern part of the State, and we shall need aid the coming year more than ever before."[453] In 1876, the Northern ministers in North Carolina had enlisted 8,517 members, 1,202 probationers; and had erected 104 churches.[454]

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[447] Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1868, p. 317.
[448] Ibid., p. 314.
[449] Western Christian Advocate, May 13, 1868.
[450] Letter of W. T. D. Clemm to The Christian Advocate, January 16, 1868.
[451] Sixth Annual Report of the Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1871, pp. 51-52.

The reconstruction of Methodism in Georgia and Alabama began in the fall of 1864, when Bishop D. W. Clark was in charge of that region in the South called the Middle District. The work in Georgia had been organized and prosecuted until 1866 as a district of the Tennessee Conference.[455] The missionaries of the Northern Church were active during this period among the Negroes in Georgia, one of them reporting that he had enrolled more than a thousand on his district alone.[456] In January 1867, the Middle District of the Southern work was divided by Bishop Clark into four presiding elder's districts, namely, Huntsville, in charge of A. S. Lakin; Talledega, under supervision of J. W. Talley; Oxford, in charge of J. W. Yarborough; and the Atlanta, in charge of J. F. Chalfant, who was appointed general superintendent of the whole work. Forty-four preachers were at work in the whole territory,[457] carrying out Bishop Clark's avowed purpose of "disintegrating and absorbing" the Southern Church.[458]

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[452] Ibid., p. 55.
[453] Ibid.
[454] Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1876, p. 175.
[455] Curry, op. cit., pp. 248-252.
[456] Western Christian Advocate, October 10, 1866.

In the fall of 1867, Bishop Clark decided that the time had come when the Georgia and Alabama Conferences should be organized.[459] The missionaries had laid the foundation for the work, and the Georgia Mission Conference was organized at Atlanta, on October 10, 1867, with sixteen white and fourteen colored ministers present.[460] During this session of the Conference enough ministers came "from various sources," to make the total ministerial strength of the new body about sixty members.[461] Among these, one minister was recruited from the Baptist Church, and eight from the Southern Methodist Church.[462] The General Conference of 1868 recognized the Georgia Conference as a legal Conference,[463] and determined the area to include the state of Georgia.[464] The boundary so continued until, at the General Conference of 1876, the Savannah Conference, embracing the southern part of Georgia, and the principal part of the colored population, was separated from it.[465] In that year the Savannah Annual Conference numbered 9,728 members and 3,153 probationers, and the reports of the Conference listed 146 churches within its boundary, evaluated at $94,545.[466] In 1876, the Georgia Conference reported a membership of 2,591 members, 220 probationers, and sixty-five churches within its area.[467]

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[457] Ibid., January 30, 1867.
[458] Annual Cyclopaedia, 1865, p. 552, as cited in Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 637.
[459] Curry, op. cit., p. 248.
[460] Western Christian Advocate, October, 23, 1867.
[461] Curry, op. cit., p. 248.
[462] Ibid.
[463] Western Christian Advocate, May 13, 1868.
[464] Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1868, p. 311.
[465] Simpson, op. cit., p. 406.
[466] Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1876, p. 350.

In 1869, The Methodist Advocate, a publication established and published in Atlanta by the Northern Methodists, reported great progress in the reconstruction program in the state, announcing that "the old Methodist Episcopal Church is taking deep root in this country. The people are returning to it."[468] The same issue of the publication announced that about 3,000 of the members of the "Zion Methodist Episcopal Church" had joined the Northern Church.[469] The people in Georgia, according to a minister of the Northern Church, were sorely in need of Bibles, especially in the Savannah region. In 1870, the Reverend C. O. Fisher, presiding elder of the Savannah district reported that "he believed it safe to say that in some counties in his district, six copies of the Holy Bible could not be found in all the houses of the people and that this destitution was not confined to the colored people, but among the whites also."[470] The Minutes of the Georgia Conference for the year 1873 announced that the "progress of the work in these six years has been in affliction, in reproach, in journeying, often, in perils in the wilderness, and in perils among false brethren."[471] Although the work had been difficult the report went on to encourage the brethren by stating that "the people are making a way for the old Church to stay, and are building forts according to their means, that from these, by the power of a sanctified ministry another victory may be gained for Methodist Christianity in earnest, by the overthrow of the remaining power of slavery, sin, and Satan, in the destruction of intemperance, superstition, bigotry, sectionalism, and the bitter spirit of caste."[472]

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[467] Ibid., p. 345.
[468] The Methodist Advocate as quoted in the Western Christian Advocate, June 2, 1869.
[469] Ibid.
[470] Minutes of the Georgia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1873, p. 9.
[471] Ibid., p. 31.

According to the reports, the same kind of persecution was meted out to the ministers of the Northern Church in Georgia as in other parts of the Southern territory. "God pity the hapless, defenseless loyalists of parts of this state!" wrote one Northern minister, "for unrepentant rebels are as relentless as death, and as insatiable in the greed of blood as the grave."[473] Reverend J. P. Powell wrote to the *Zion's Herald* and informed its readers that he had enrolled 3,000 "souls into the Church of God," but he declared, "I do not mean houses made with hands, for we are driven out everywhere. The Church called the Methodist Episcopal Church, South is as bitter against us as any other crowd. All make common cause against us. Our Church is titled the Northern, the Radical, the Negro Church. . . . We have about 1,000 children. No school, no Sabbath school, no one able to teach, no school-house, not one day school."[474] After establishment of fraternal relations between the two Churches in 1876, most of the bitterness between the Methodists of Georgia died out. Bishop Gilbert Haven, who particularly irked the Southern Methodists, was refused the privilege of preaching in the Southern Methodist churches of Georgia in the early 1870's, and could find no one to introduce him at a session of the General Conference of the Southern Church at Atlanta, but Dr. W. P. Thirkield was invited to speak at the session of the North Georgia Conference of the Southern Church in 1893 on colored education, and raised a considerable sum of money for a Southern Methodist Negro college.[475]

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[472] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[473] *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, October, 28, 1868.
[474] Letter of Powell to the *Zion's Herald*, July 1, 1869.

In 1866, the Reverend A. S. Lakin was sent into Alabama to organize the Methodist Episcopal Church.[476] In July of the same year Lakin had organized churches in Florence and Tuscumbia, Alabama, and had recruited 146 members, four local preachers, and 180 Sunday school scholars.[477] As the "fruit of his own labors," Lakin, in January 1867, reported the members in his district as numbering 886, three hundred of whom were white, and twenty preachers.[478] In April of the same year Lakin reported that he had received 1,600 members and thirty-seven traveling and local preachers. In four weeks he had traveled on horseback over 400 miles, "held four quarterly meetings, preached fourteen sermons, organized four circuits and one presiding elder's district, and received into the Church 150 members and four ministers."[479] So successful had been the work of Lakin and his few associates, Bishop Clark decided to organize a Conference in that state. In October 1867, Bishop Clark met a group of ministers at Talladega, Alabama, and organized the Alabama Mission Conference.[480] Five white ministers were recognized by the bishop as a nucleus of the organization, and during the first session of the Conference thirty additional ministers were received on probation. At the Conference the ministers reported that 8,218 members had been received, the largest part of them residing in Northern Alabama.[481]

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[475] The Christian Educator (April, 1893), p. 109.
[476] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 757.
[477] Western Christian Advocate, July 11, 1866.
[478] Ibid., February 13, 1867.
[479] Letter of Lakin to the Western Christian Advocate, July 10, 1867.
[480] Western Christian Advocate, October 30, 1867.
[481] Ibid.

In 1868, the General Conference of the Northern Church recognized the Alabama Conference as a legal Conference,[482] and the following General Conference of 1872 fixed the boundary of the Conference as including the state of Alabama.[483]

Lakin's career in Alabama was a stormy one, and his presence caused no little opposition on the part of the white population of that state. It was reported that he and his associates excited the Negroes against the whites and kept both races in a state of irritation. Governor Lindsay of Alabama, testified before the Ku Klux Klan investigation that Lakin encouraged the Negroes to force themselves into congregations where they were not wanted, to obstruct the church services.[484] The Western Christian Advocate announced in July 1867 that Lakin and the Reverend J. Spellman had been burned out of their churches at Huntsville, Alabama.[485] Bishop Mallalieu said of Lakin that he had experienced "about as many perils possibly more, as the Apostle Paul," and Bishop Gilbert Haven reported that he had "been 'run out' of more than one county by the Ku Klux" and had been "plotted against as often as Paul was by the Jews, and as unsuccessfully."[486] Haven also said of him that "he is in no undeserving sense, the head of our Church work in the South . . . coming into this country as soon as the war opened the way, fighting his way hither at the head of the armies, as a clerical co-worker with Sherman and Thomas, he planted the banner of the Church as soon as they did that of the nation. He has had a price set on his head; has been honored with innumerable newspaper assaults. . . . He is said to be the best stump speaker in the state . . . though he sometimes gets the figures mixed in the affluence of his fancy."[487] When the carpet-bag administration in Alabama was threatened, Lakin was instrumental in having the Federal authorities station troops in those counties where the Radical control was endangered. In an appeal to General Samuel W. Crawford he declared that one county was in a "perfect reign of terror," and unless aid were forthcoming from the Federal authorities the Union men of the county would be compelled to take the law into their own hands. Lakin kept a memorandum of the outrages committed in his district, and when called before the Committee investigating conditions in the Southern states in 1871 at Washington he represented the South as in a continuous state of anarchy and terrorism.[488] Lakin told the Committee that "in his district six churches were burned by incendiaries, four of them within six weeks of the election, (1870), and that a great many school-houses suffered the same fate."[489] In his memorandum Lakin had noted thirty-five murders and three hundred and seventy-one whippings in his district.[490]

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[482] Ibid., May 13, 1868.
[483] Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1872, p. 417.
[484] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 638.
[485] Western Christian Advocate, July 10, 1867.
[486] Prentice, George, Life of Gilbert Haven, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, (New York, 1883), pp. 426-427.

Lakin sought office on several occasions, and in 1868 he was elected president of the University of Alabama. The Ku Klux Klan drove him away from Tuscaloosa before he could exercise the duties of his position. On September 1, 1868, the Independent Monitor, published at Tuscaloosa, the seat of the University, gave an account of the mob which frightened

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[487] Ibid., pp. 426-427.

[488] Testimony of the Select Committee, Vol. IX, pp. 1207-1209, as cited in Farish, op. cit., p. 142. The Democratic minority members stated that Lakin came before the committee "brimful of gall, bitterness and falsehood, which he poured out before us in a way that it is hardly possible to determine which of the ingredients predominated."

[489] Arnold, S. G., "The Ku Klux Conspiracy," in The Methodist Quarterly Review (January, 1873), LV, p. 107.

[490] Ibid.

Lakin away from the institution, in which Lakin and his associate, Dr. N. B. Cloud, were represented as hanging from a tree. Lakin was pictured with a carpet-bag in his hand on which the word "Ohio" was inscribed, and a mule with the symbol "K. K. K." written on his side was represented as being led out from under the two hanged men. This cut represented the fate of Lakin and his associate "If found in Dixie's Land after the break of day on the 4th of March."[491] In describing Lakin the cartoon stated that he was a man "with a lank head of dry hair, a lank stomach and long legs, club knees and splay feet, dried legs and lank jaws, with eyes like a fish and mouth like a shark. Add to this a habit of sneaking and dodging about in unknown places--habiting with negroes in dark dens and back streets--a look like a hound and the smell of a polecat."

Little progress was made in the reconstruction of white Methodism in Alabama by the Northern Methodists, although Lakin stated that of 15,000 members under his supervision in 1871, three-fourths were whites of the poorer classes. One writer contends that this statement is regarded as doubtful testimony, for he worked mainly among the Negroes.[492] The report of the Conference reveals a decrease in membership after the year 1871. In 1875, the membership of the Conference was reported as consisting of 10,212 members.[493] In 1876 the Alabama Conference was divided and the Central Alabama Conference set off as a separate organization. This new Conference took 5,209 members of the old Conference, leaving it a membership of 4,351.[494]

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[491] Fleming, W. L., Documentary History of Reconstruction (Cleveland, 1906) I, frontpiece.

[492] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 638.

[493] Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1875, p. 342.

[494] Ibid., for the year 1876, pp. 344, 343.

At the session of the Kentucky Annual Conference of the Northern Church in 1868, a meeting of the colored members met to consider the formation of a separate colored Conference. This discussion of the colored members resulted in passing resolutions stating that a colored Conference would tend to a more rapid establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church in that state.[495] After the matter was submitted to the Conference the body resolved that it was the sense of the Conference that "at the earliest day practicable, a separate Conference, composed of colored members only, ought to be organized in Kentucky.[496] The General Conference of 1868 authorized the organization of the proposed colored Conference in Kentucky. The bishops of the Church were given authority to organize the Conference, provided "that nothing in this resolution be so construed as to impair existing constitutional rights of colored members on the one hand, or on the other, to prevent the transfer of white ministers to said Conference whenever it may be deemed desirable or expedient."[497] Dr. Gilbert Haven, editor of the Zion's Herald, opposed the organization of this separate conference for the Negroes. Commenting on the proposed organization, and stating that the Southern Methodist Church had awakened to the value of the Negro revealed in its organization of colored conferences, Haven declared:

> The question now arises, how can the Methodist Episcopal Church keep its position at the head in this race for an ecclesiastical fortune. Only by being more faithful to principle than the Church South. If we also organize a colored Kentucky Conference what do we do more than others? Why divide these brethren from

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[495] Western Christian Advocate, March 11, 1868; The Christian Advocate, April 2, 1868.

[496] Ibid.

[497] Western Christian Advocate, June 24, 1868.

> each other, when we will not unite them to ourselves? But if we cling to our present Conference, if we refuse that temptation of the devil offered us by the wrongful permit of the General Conference, the organization of the Conference of colored members in Kentucky, --if our brethren there make no distinction of color in their Conference sittings and actings, we break down this whole Southern movement at the start. We are ahead, and they can only keep up by keeping step.[498]

The Conference was organized at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, on March 2, 1869, and was named the Lexington Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Conference was divided into two districts, the Lexington and Louisville, and the membership was reported as consisting of nineteen colored ministers.[499] In 1876 the General Conference of the Church defined its boundaries as including the states of Kentucky, Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana.[500] After the Conference had been organized Dr. Gilbert Haven declared: "The Kentucky Conference has succeeded in getting rid of its colored associates. We presume all of them are dismissed, though several of them did not ask for the favor, as would none of them, had they been treated as brothers and equals. . . . It is a sad sight, for our Church to present to a State so hostile, such a divided front."[501] Although Haven and a few Northerners objected to the separating of the colored members of the Church in Kentucky this action eventually became the policy for the whole Church. The ministers in the Southern field saw that this provision was necessary if the Church would succeed in that section of the country. In 1869, the colored Methodists in Richmond, Virginia, expressed the desire to worship by themselves.[502] In 1872, the colored members of the Georgia Conference asked for a separate Conference, and it was granted.[503] At the 1876 session of the Tennessee Conference the question of a separate Conference for the Negroes caused a great deal of discussion and the whites "came to the Conference with the expressed thought that the body must divide at this session, or our white work in Tennessee would be ruined."[504] After a heated debate it was finally agreed that if those who favored the division of the Conference should ask for it the following year, the request would be granted.[505] Following the trend in the South, the General Conference of 1876 abolished mixed Conferences in the South,[506] and by 1883 the separation of the Negro and white Conferences had become an actual fact, except where there were too few white men to organize a Conference.[507]

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[498] Zion's Herald, November 19, 1868.

[499] Simpson, op. cit., p. 537.

[500] Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1876, p. 373.

[501] Zion's Herald, March 25, 1869.

Although a strong Union sentiment existed in some sections of Kentucky, the state was the scene of a bitter rivalry between the Northern and Southern Methodist Churches. At one time, in 1865, eighteen ministers of the Southern Church, withdrew and joined the Kentucky Conference of the Northern Church. The hostility of the ministers caused the *Louisville Courier-Journal* to declare in 1871 that they "still habitually carry their moral bowie-knives and revolvers, ready to draw their weapons at the slightest provocation and eager to find a free fight."[508] A Northern Methodist of Lexington claimed that the Southern Methodist churches in that city, with but an exception or two, did not manifest sympathy in the death of President Lincoln. He declared: "We pity that Church, which, either from fear of contaminating her sacred walls, or wounding the sensibilities of rebel sympathizers, can not permit the mourning banner of our land, whose chief standard-bearer has fallen, to have a temporary place within her portals, on an occasion of such national distress."[509] For his activities among the Negroes of the state, the Reverend R. G. Gardiner, a presiding elder of the Kentucky Conference "was ducked severely in the creek until he nearly drowned."[510] By 1883 the hostility between the two Churches had died down to the extent that the Reverend I. A. Pearce, pastor of the Trinity church in Louisville, announced that he had no complaint "against our Southern brethren nor their Churches . . . because of any treatment we have received at their hands; but we complain of the cowardly conduct of many of our own people, who come into our midst, and, from mercenary or other motives, ignore their own 'mother.'"[511]

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[502] *Ibid.*, May 27, 1869.
[503] *Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society*, 1886, pp. 14-25.
[504] *Western Christian Advocate*, November 8, 1876.
[505] *Ibid.*
[506] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[507] *Western Christian Advocate*, January 3, 1883.
[508] Louisville Courier-Journal, as quoted by the *Western Christian Advocate*, August 1, 1866.

At the close of the Civil War, the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Arkansas was included in the work of the St. Louis Conference,[512] but the formal organization of the work in that state occurred after the cessation of hostilities. After the Northern part of the state had been occupied by the Federal armies, some of the Southern Methodists became dissatisfied with their church relations and joined the Northern Methodist societies which had been organized chiefly among the Northern people who came into the state with the army.[513]

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[509] *Ibid.*, May 17, 1865.
[510] *Ibid.*, August 1, 1866.
[511] *Ibid.*, April 4, 1883.
[512] Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
[513] Jewell, Horace, *History of Methodism in Arkansas* (Little Rock, 1892) p. 375.

In 1868, the General Conference of the Northern Church gave the St. Louis Conference permission to divide, when, in its judgment and that of the presiding bishop, the interests of the Church should require it.[514] No action was taken, however, until 1872 when the General Conference reorganized the Arkansas Conference. The boundaries of the Conference were fixed by the General Conference of 1872 as including the state of Arkansas and the Indian territory west of the state.[515] A large number of the colored people, who had formerly belonged to the Southern Methodist Church, united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. From 1865 to 1873 the whites and colored members were united in the same conference, but in 1873 a division of the Conference was made on the color line, the white and colored Methodists being placed in separate conferences but occupying the same territory.[516] A Southern writer commenting on this action declared: "In view of the severe criticisms of our Northern brethren upon their Southern brethren on account of the color line, it appears a little strange that they would consent to draw that line so closely themselves. It is but another instance of the disappearance of plausible theories before the stern logic of facts."[517]

By 1876, the Methodist Episcopal Church had been able to organize seventeen annual conferences in the Southern states. Although a few colored conferences had been organized by this time, the statistics given by the annual conferences did not separate the colored from the white members, making it difficult to ascertain the exact number of colored members, but in the great majority of conferences the Negroes outnumbered the whites. In 1871 the membership of the Northern Methodist Church in the South was reported at 135,442, and the preachers numbered 630. Of this total membership three hundred and seventy of the preachers and 88,425 members were Negroes.[518] Toward the close of the century the Negro membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church was estimated at 251,000.[519]

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[514] Simpson, _op. cit._, p. 50.
[515] _Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church_, 1872, p. 417.
[516] Jewell, _op. cit._, pp. 375-376.
[517] _Ibid._

Along with the reconstruction of the Church in the South, the Methodists of the North were equally as active in the reconstruction of the political state. The ministry and membership of the Northern Church in the South were Republicans and supporters of the Radical party in Washington and its theory of Southern reconstruction. The whole-hearted support of the government during the war had created in the Methodist Episcopal Church a political-mindedness which lasted until after the close of the century. In some sections of the South the Northern Methodist Church "was considered a sort of adjunct to the Republican party, and too often even the missionaries of the freedmen became involved in party politics and were elected to political office, and must, therefore, share the blame for the unspeakable corruption which attended the carpetbag and Negro rule."[520] The missionaries in the South were of the opinion that their fate was somewhat linked to the success of the Radical party at Washington. One missionary writing to the North stated that if President Johnson's policy succeeds, "Union men, missionaries, and the teachers of the freedmen" will be subjected to danger, and every church and school in the South will be demolished; and closed his letter by saying "If Congress fail, we fail; if Congress succeeds, we succeed."[521] The missionaries looked to the Radicals in Congress to protect them in their mission among the Negroes, and for the continued support of the Freedmen's Bureau, which gave a considerable sum of money for the construction of Northern Methodist churches and schools. The Methodists were among the first to urge the government at Washington to establish such a bureau.

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[518] Methodist Quarterly Review (January, 1872), as cited in Sweet, W. W. "Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review (March, 1915), I, p. 548.

[519] Mason to Rev. G. W. Huddleston, November 25, 1896. Papers of M. C. B. Mason, Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Hereafter cited as Mason Papers.

[520] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, p. 315.

The fear that some of the ministers selected for the work of reconstruction of Methodism in the South might be tempted to go to that region on a political mission prompted Dr. Edward Thomson in 1864 to urge that "choice men" would be selected for "the delicate errand: men of profound piety, great firmness, mature age; men who will seek above all things the salvation of souls." In refuting a charge made by the Episcopal Recorder that the Northern Methodists had been sent into the South to "preach the Gospel and Union sentiment," Thomson declared that "they are not to go on a political errand" and the intention of the Church was to send men for religious purposes only. He announced that "we do not ask or expect that they will preach politics, but that they will preach the Gospel the whole Gospel, and nothing but the Gospel."[522] Although this opinion was held by the great majority of the Northern Methodists, a few of those selected for the "delicate errand" became involved in the political struggle of that time. In South Carolina, even before the war had ended, a Methodist church was being used as a recruiting station for released slaves, and in this particular church "one hundred and fifty of them were drafted into the army."[523] Bishop Simpson was not a conservative in his opinion of the mission of the Church in the South as was Dr. Thomson. In an address to the ministers of the Mississippi Mission Conference in 1866, of whom many were Negroes, the bishop explained the close relationship between the government and the Church, and declared that "such being the relation and duty of the Church to the State, she cannot apologize for having reproved, rebuked, and exhorted, with all long-suffering and doctrine, sins and sinners in high places. Much less can she consent that her messengers shall be dumb and her pulpits silent on any subject pertaining to public morals."[524] The Reverend D. J. Holmes of Nashville was opposed to any movement which would throttle the Northern pulpit in the South. He said: "The devil never has a gayer time than when he gets preachers to avoid certain broad principles of God's high trust for fear it will be said they are preaching politics. If the Methodist Church is not as free and outspoken and fearless in the South as it is in the North, God will blast it. We had better pack up."[525]

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[521] The Christian Advocate, September 13, 1866.
[522] Christian Advocate and Journal, February 11, 1864.

Dr. Gilbert Haven, the editor of the Zion's Herald at Boston, was probably the most outspoken of the Northern editors in his political sentiments. He was Republican through and through and never hesitated in expressing these sentiments. After the elections of 1868 he rejoiced in the Republican gains in the Southern vote. He wrote: "South Carolina, Tennessee, Florida, West Virginia, perhaps others are Republican. They are radically hostile to Georgia, and Louisiana and Alabama, though even here the right would have prevailed but for the terror of the rebel rifle.

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[523] Letter of Rev. W. C. Mattison to the Christian Advocate and Journal, June 25, 1863.
[524] The Christian Advocate, January 3, 1867.
[525] Letter of Holmes to The Christian Advocate, June 28, 1866.

It is especially worthy of praise to see South Carolina leading this returning column. The basest of all kingdoms has become the most exalted. She who led her sisters to rebellion is returning clothed and in her right mind. Not those who dragged her out are penitent. They are still the chiefs of our 'hell,' full of unchanged and undying malice."[526] On another occasion Haven, now a bishop, defended the carpetbagger and criticized the Northern press for joining the Southern in its abuse of him. In an address in New York in 1878, he declared: "How maligned has been that grandest word of the age--the carpet-bagger. How Northern pen and tongue have joined with Southern tongue and pen in abusing these martyrs of today, chosen of God and precious."[527] In Tennessee, a writer signing his name as "Old Methodist" wrote to the McMinnville Enterprise concerning a quarterly meeting held in his church and boasted that his Church was as effective in making "loyal men" as other societies. "Show me a Northern Methodist," he wrote, "and I will show you a loyal citizen." Then he concluded by saying "let all the Negroes and Radicals join the flock of Wesley."[528] Bishop Wilmer of the Episcopal Church in Alabama, standing on the outside of the Methodist controversy, observed that "unhappily, the Methodists have become in the Northern States too much of a political power, and candidates for the Presidency find it to their interest to play into their hands. As they have gained in political power, they seem to have declined in piety and religious zeal."[529]

The Northern Methodist press took a hostile view toward President

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[526] Zion's Herald, November 12, 1868.

[527] Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society, 1878, pp. 48-49.

[528] McMinnville Enterprise, May 18, 1867, as cited in Bowers, Claude, The Tragic Era: The Revolution after Lincoln (Cambridge, 1929), p. 201.

[529] Wilmer, Richard H., The Recent Past: From a Southern Standpoint (New York, 1887), pp. 112-113.

Andrew Johnson's policy for the reconstruction of the South. President Johnson leaned toward a liberal policy which drew wrath from the Radicals in Congress headed by Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, and others. When the Radical party broke with the President and his policy of reconstruction, the Northern Methodist press thundered for his impeachment. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy in both the Lincoln amd Johnson cabinets, made the charge that Bishop Simpson brought pressure on the Methdist senators to vote for Johnson's impeachment.[530] Editor Gilbert Haven, in writing of the struggle between the conflicting parties in Congress said: "Congress is fighting a greater battle than Grant's, against a more numerous, more united, more desperate enemy, led by the President of the United States. . . . Prayer should go up daily for it. Letters should go daily to it. Strengthen its hands, and it will yet, under God, maintain, advance, and perfect our liberties."[531] After the New Orleans riot, the editor of The Christian Advocate announced that "among the severest chastisements that Divine Providence inflicts upon sinning nations is giving them incompetent, obstinate and violent rulers."[532] Reverend John P. Newman, pastor of one of the Northern Methodist churches in New Orleans, came out openly and asked: "Who is responsible for this riot? Andrew Johnson. When Lee surrendered, the spirit of rebellion was subdued, and a wiser, firmer hand than Mr. Johnson's might have destroyed the monster, but, under his tender, fostering policy it has revived, and to-day defies the nation. . . . His friends are the rioters."[533]

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[530] Welles, Gideon, Diary, Vol. III, p. 357. Boston, 1911, as cited in Bowers, op. cit., p. 194; Sweet, W. W., The Story of Religions in America, p. 471.
[531] Zion's Herald, February 6, 1868.
[532] The Christian Advocate, August 30, 1866.
[533] Letter of J. P. Newman in the Zion's Herald, September 12, 1866.

During the impeachment trial of President Johnson the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was in session in Chicago. On May 13, Bishop Simpson presented a motion to the assembled Methodists that an hour be set aside for prayer for the conviction of the President. Only the sanity of an aged member of the Conference prevented the adoption of the motion. "My understanding is that impeachment is a judicial proceeding," he objected, "and that Senators are acting under an oath. Are we here to pray to the Almighty that they may violate their oaths?" The next day Bishop Simpson made an effort to put the Church formally behind the impeachment, and this time the motion was altered so that direct exhortation that Senators vote for conviction was omitted. Finally a motion was adopted stating that an hour should be set apart for invocation to the Almighty, "to save our Senators from error," and the motion was adopted without dissent.[534] In the African Methodist Episcopal Church General Conference meeting at Washington at the same time, the ministers were not so conservative. The Reverend Sampson Jones fervently prayed that "de Lawd would stiffen wid de grace of fortitude de doubtful backbone of de wavering Senators, and dat Andrew Johnson, de demented Moses of Tennessee, would be removed by de sanctimonious voice of de Senate to whar de wicked cease from troublin' and de weary am at rest."[535]

After President Johnson's political life had come to an end and he had returned to his home in Tennessee, Gilbert Haven of the Zion's Herald, wrote an editorial stating:

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[534] Milton, George F., The Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals (New York, 1930), p. 601.

[535] Dewitt, D. M., The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson (New York, 1903), p. 541, 543-545, as cited in Bowers, op. cit., p. 195.

> Another Slave Emancipated. Andrew Johnson, late held captive by Congress and the Constitution, declares himself free. In a speech at Greenville, Tennessee, his homestead, he said: 'That for the last four years I have been the greatest slave on earth. The Fourth of March was emancipation day for me.' So it was to the country. He also promises to 'repair to some Sabine cave and pray for his country.' Cudjo's cave, in that region, will probably be the one selected for the devotions of the monk, that having a good anti-slavery reputation now, as the White House and himself had when he repaired hither to plot against his country. We trust that he will devote some portion of his cave life to praying for himself. That was the practice of the monks. It could profitably be his.[536]

After President Grant had served his second term as President of the United States, Haven urged the Boston Preacher's Meeting to "pray for the renomination of General Grant."[537] This action stirred up a great commotion in the country as interpreting Haven putting up President Grant for a third term. The New York Herald devoted four columns to the affair, and the Methodist Episcopal Church was accused in the North of partisan politics. The Herald announced in startling headlines "The True Story," "The Bishops' Presidential Support Promised Long Ago," "Is the Methodist Church Committed to the Renomination of Grant?" Writing of his statement before the preacher's meeting sometime later Bishop Haven said: "A third term for President Grant is the only hope for the future safety and prosperity of the South. A civilian in the Presidential chair cannot hold this people in check. I know what I say and say what I know."[538]

The Northern Methodists were active in the political life of Tennessee during the reconstruction period. William G. Brownlow was per-

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536 Zion's Herald, April 15, 1869.
537 Prentice, op. cit., pp. 435-437.
538 Ibid.

haps the most active of the members of the Church. He was held up to the Negroes in Tennessee as a political example. One Negro speaking for the Union League at Chattanooga, advised his fellow citizens to "know the true thing in politics" from "such men as Brownlow" and to "teach your children . . . that they may grow up big-mouthed Radicals."[539] Brownlow railed at the Democrats and their works in much the same fashion as he did against the devil. His terminology was ecclesiastical, and "he poured invective upon his foes with all the zeal of a 'Bible-pounding' circuit rider."[540] "I am not a moderate man," stated the Parson on one occasion, and he boasted that he had "taken part in all the religious and political controversies of my day and time."[541] Bishop Haven held Brownlow in high regard, calling him the "greatest man of Tennessee since Andrew Jackson, and not a whit behind that chiefest of Tennesseans." Haven said that he was a "terrible hater and the worst is, his hatred is in perfect method. He finds all there is black in his adversary, and he hurls it at him inthe best, that is, the broadest of English." When Thaddeus Stevens died, a Southern paper declared that "the prayers of the righteous have at last removed the congressional curse. May old Brownlow, Butler, and all such political monsters, soon follow the example of their illustrious predecessor."[542] As Governor of Tennessee, Brownlow was in position to influence the Northern Methodists in that state, and had unlimited control of the Negro vote in that region. He told the Negroes that voting the Republican ticket meant continued freedom from enslavement.[543]

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539 Bowers, op. cit., p. 200.
540 Brownlow, W. G., Parson Brownlow's Book, pp. 16-18.
541 Prentice, op. cit., p. 401.
542 Planter's Banner (Louisiana) August 15, 1868, as cited in Fleming, W. L., Documentary History of Reconstruction, II, p. 272.
543 Bowers, op. cit., p. 205.

On one of his trips to Tennessee in 1865 Bishop Clark visited the Republican Convention then in session. He visited the convention as a stranger and spectator, but as soon as his presence became known, it was announced and he was invited to be introduced to the body, and was seated on the platform by the president. The bishop stated that "this was a compliment not to *me*, but to the Church I represented. It is 'a straw' showing the direction of the wind."[544]

The Reverend Thomas H. Pearne, one of the early missionaries in East Tennessee, was active in the political life of that time. After he was elected editor of the *Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator* and served in that capacity from 1869 to 1871,[545] he "only escaped the United States Senate by the providential interposition of an honorable defeat,"[546] and was eventually called from East Tennessee by the administration at Washington to serve as United States Consul in the British West Indies.[547] Although Brownlow, Pearne, and a few others entered into the partisan politics of that time, the Tennessee Conference realized the danger of such procedures, and in 1869 expressed itself on ministers holding political offices in a resolution which was preceded by a preamble stating that the work of the Church was to secure the salvation of souls. The resolution stated that "we deem it incompatible with the best interests of our work for members of this Conference to be actively engaged in partisan politics, or to hold political offices."[548]

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[544] Letter of Bishop Clark to a Layman of New York, as cited in the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, February 16, 1865.
[545] Patton, James W., *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1934), p. 250.
[546] *The Christian Educator* (April-May, 1899), p. 108.
[547] Pearne, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
[548] *Western Christian Advocate*, October 13, 1869.

The correspondence of the ministers of the Northern Church in Louisiana reveals the fact that they followed the political events during the reconstruction with great interest, and considered the carpetbag government of the state as their protector and ally. During and after the war, New Orleans was the "happy hunting ground of Northern speculators, and the home of Radicals,"[549] and as long as the Radical politicians had control of the state, the Northern Methodists found the atmosphere congenial to their program of work. The reconstruction governors of Louisiana found time, among their other duties, to attend the Methodist Conferences as often as possible. At the Louisiana Conference of 1869 Governor Warmouth and Lieutenant Governor Dunn were visitors at the Sabbath services in Ames Church at New Orleans.[550] In 1871 Governor Warmouth attended the session of the same conference and "afforded an additional speaker whose words were highly complimentary to the Church."[551] He was also present at the dedication of the Ames Church in New Orleans in 1868, and seems to have been a regular member in good standing.[552] Governor Pinchback also attended the Conferences and church services while holding this political office.[553]

The Reverend Joseph C. Hartzell, later a bishop of the Church, while serving as pastor of Ames Church, presiding elder of the New Orleans district, and editor of the Southwestern Christian Advocate, entered into the political activities of Louisiana during the reconstruction period. In a letter to the Reverend John P. Newman, the earliest Methodist missionary in New Orleans after the war, pastor and intimate friend of

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[549] Bowers, op. cit., p. 59.

[550] The Christian Advocate, February 25, 1869, quoting the New Orleans Advocate.

[551] Western Christian Advocate, January 3, 1872.

[552] The Christian Advocate, January 30, 1868. (Letter of C. C. North).

[553] Ficklen, John R., History of Reconstruction in Louisiana through 1868 (Baltimore, 1910), p. 195.

President Grant and bishop in the Church, Hartzell conveyed a message from a Dr. Southworth who seemed to have much political power in Louisiana. Dr. Southworth expressed regret at not having seen more of Newman when visiting New Orleans in 1872, and asked Hartzell to convey the following message to him: "He wishes me to say to you he was out of the city when you spoke. He wants you here to exert your influence politically. He says you and he can run this state and you shall be its next governor and go to the United States Senate--if you'll come. In the meantime he says you can preach all you like."[554] On another occasion Hartzell wrote to Newman, who at the time was the pastor to President Grant, and said: "Say to General Grant for me if you please as pastor of the leading loyal Church in this city I say God bless him for acting so justly and firmly in behalf of the loyal people of Louisiana."[555] On several occasions Hartzell recommended Northern Methodists for political offices in Louisiana and Mississippi. In a letter to the Honorable James Lynch, a colored Methodist minister, and Secretary of State of Mississippi Hartzell recommended a member of his church and urged Lynch to appoint him as Superintendent of Education of a county in Mississippi.[556] Hartzell was of the opinion that the success of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Louisiana depended on the success of the Republican elections. He expressed hope for this success in a letter to Bishop Simpson in 1872, saying: "The election will go Republican no doubt--this will fix our friends in position and permanently we think destroy prejudice as against us so far as politics can do it."[557] In a letter to Bishop Haven in 1873, describing the disturbed political conditions in that time, Hartzell reveals the close connection between the Church and State in that region. He said:

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[554] Letter of Hartzell to Newman, December 14, 1872. Hartzell MS.
[555] Hartzell to Newman, December 14, 1872. Hartzell MS.
[556] Hartzell to Lynch, December 6, 1872. Hartzell MS.
[557] Hartzell to Simpson, October 1, 1872. Hartzell MS.

> These are indeed trublous times with us, but God lives and out of this turmoil will come peace and prosperity. None of our people as far as I know have been killed. Governor Kellog was shot at within a few blocks of my house. There is an association of so-called 'best-citizens' who have secretly sworn to assassinate our state officers . . . if it were not for the few brave white republicans in this state who stand fearlessly for the right--the colored people would stand but a poor show for their rights.[558]

In 1873, Bishops Haven and Wiley of the Northern Church made a visit to the state Legislature of Louisiana and "Bishop Wiley opened the House with a prayer, and Bishop Haven the Senate." The Reverend R. S. Rust, Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, accompanied the bishops on their visit to the Legislature, and wrote: "We were introduced to acting Governor Pinchback, who treated us with great consideration."[559] Thus the evidence points to a close and harmonious relationship between the Northern Methodist Church and the reconstruction governments in the Southern states. When the white people of the South had regained control of their state governments in 1876, the Northern Methodists did not find the atmosphere as congenial for their work. In 1888, Hartzell wrote to the Honorable Joseph Fifer, nominee for Governor of Illinois, and said: "I wish the people North had a better conception of things in the South. If they had I am sure that there would be no question about the North keeping this nation in its own control for a generation or so yet."[560]

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[558] Hartzell to Haven, May 1873. Hartzell MS.
[559] The Christian Advocate, January 30, 1873.

Among the best known of the Northern Methodist missionaries who participated in Southern politics during the reconstruction period was the Reverend B. F. Whittemore, a member of the South Carolina Mission Conference. In 1867 he became the Superintendent of Schools for South Carolina, and later, under the carpetbagger Scott's administration, one of the congressmen from that state. In 1870 he was convicted of selling a West Point cadetship to a New York broker for two thousand dollars and expelled from Congress. He was so popular among his Negro constituents that they reelected him in spite of his expulsion, but Congress refused to seat him.[561] Whittemore's popularity among the Negroes was partly due to his excellent voice, and the fact "that he sang well at his religious meetings."[562]

Another of the Northern Methodist missionaries who became involved in Southern politics was the Reverend A. S. Lakin, who was sent into Alabama to organize the Methodist Episcopal Church. Southern testimony reveals Lakin as "a very shrewd, sagacious and cunning man" with a flair for romancing.[563] By political maneuvering Lakin was successful in having himself elected president of the University of Alabama in 1868, but the Southerners refused to surrender the keys to him, and the Ku Klux Klan "serenaded" him and threatened to lynch him if he remained in Tuscaloosa. It is said that Lakin was saved from the mob by hiding under a bed. After his experience with the Ku Klux Klan, Lakin left that part of the country.[564] Lakin did not resign, however, and three years later still had a claim against the State for a full year's salary as president of the University. On this claim he collected $800 from the Board of Regents.[565] Another Northern Methodist minister, the Reverend R. D. Harper, who at one time was the Freedmen's Bureau "Superintendent of Education" in Alabama, and who organized the Freedmen's Bureau schools in that state, was offered the presidency of the University of Alabama after Lakin was not permitted to hold office, but declined the position, which, he said, "to an alien, was one of more danger than honor."[566] Besides Lakin and Harper, the Reverend J. B. F. Hill and the Reverend Isaac W. Dorman entered into the politics of the carpetbag government of Alabama.[567] These preacher-politicians were roughly treated because of their activity in the stormy politics of that time, and many church buildings were burned by the Ku Klux Klan on the accusation that they were used as political headquarters of the Radical party.[568] In that time every Northern Methodist in Alabama was known as a Republican, "and even today in some sections of Alabama, the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church are known as 'Republican' Methodists as distinguished from the Southern Methodists or

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[560] Hartzell to Fifer, August 22, 1888. Correspondence of J. C. Hartzell, Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, in possession of the Methodist Book Concern, Chicago. (Hereafter cited as Hartzell Papers.)

[561] Sweet, W. W., "Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review (March, 1915), I, pp. 555-556; Reynolds, John S., Reconstruction in South Carolina--1865-1877 (Columbia, S. C., 1905), pp. 132-133.

[562] Ibid.

[563] Report of the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Conditions of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, (Washington, 1872), VIII, p. 180, as cited in Sweet, W. W., "Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review (March, 1915), I, p. 556.

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[564] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 611.
[565] Ibid.
[566] Ibid., p. 613.
[567] Ibid., pp. 647-652.
[568] Ibid., p. 639.

'Democrat' Methodists.[569]

The highest office held by any Northern Methodist preacher in the South during the reconstruction period was the Reverend Hiram R. Revels, a colored minister, who became United States Senator from Mississippi. Revels was born in North Carolina but had removed to Indiana where he was educated. At the outbreak of the war he was a minister in Baltimore, and there helped to organize two colored regiments. He came South with the Freedmen's Bureau, and later located at Natchez, where he became a presiding elder in the Methodist Church, which position he was holding at the time of his election to the United States senate.[570] Revels was a man of unusual intelligence, but the Republican senate debated three days on his credentials. Finally after a stirring speech by Sumner, he was admitted, and took the seat which Jefferson Davis had vacated "to take up arms against the Republic."[571] After his term of service in the senate, Revels became Professor of Theology at Rust University, a Northern Methodist college for Negroes at Holly Springs, Mississippi.[572]

The Northern Methodist preachers in Missouri entered into the partisan politics of that state, and "as partisans they were strangely indiscreet." It was the belief of the Southerners in that region that the Northern ministers had been sent into the state by the authorities of their Church "distinctly and thoroughly indoctrinated in the belief that the success of the Church whose credentials they wore was in the success of the anti-slavery party; hence they were secret and earnest partisans out of the pulpit."[573] It is said that the Northern Methodist preachers were persecuted in Missouri and put under the ban of public sentiment, not because they were ministers, but because they were partisans. The opinion among men "who cared less for the institutions of Christianity than for the institutions of the State was that the Northern Methodist preachers in that state were wolves in sheep's clothing. Only by an unseemly torture of facts could they make it appear that they were opposed and persecuted because they were ministers of the gospel."[574] Not all Northern Methodist ministers in Missouri were engaged in political activity, for many of them were busy with the religious duties entrusted to them. But in that stormy political period suspicion rested upon all of them, and the evidence of political activity was too general to make wholesale exceptions.

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[569] Sweet, W. W., "Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, (March, 1915), I, p. 557.
[570] Ibid., p. 558.
[571] DuBois, W. E. B., Black Reconstruction--an Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America--1860-1880 (New York, 1935), p. 442.
[572] Catalogue of Rust University, 1883-85, p. 4.

While the political activity of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South was a factor to be reckoned with, it was not to be compared with the political activities of the two Northern independent Negro churches, the African Methodist and the Zion Methodist. The African Methodist Church had twice the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and if the political importance of these two churches can be judged by the number of political offices held by their ministers, their influence was great during the period of Negro supremacy in the reconstruction governments.[575] The Negro of the reconstruction period was not prone to separate his religion and politics. In Florida, one Negro declared that "Radicalism was right, but conservatism, sin."[576] A Northern Methodist white minister, who did considerable work among the Negroes of the South in education, said of the Negroe's proclivities for political activity: "As for politics, he seems as if born to it. The best political trainers might go to school to the Louisians colored man."[577] The Negro preacher was more likely to preach political sermons than his white contemporary, for he looked upon his liberators and his liberty as a gift from God. Radical meetings were often held in the Negro churches. This fact led the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, affiliated with the Southern Methodists, to include in its Discipline a rule forbidding the use of their churches for political speeches or meetings.[578]

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[573] Leftwich, op. cit., pp. 92-93, I.
[574] Ibid.
[575] Sweet, W. W., "Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, (March, 1915), I, p. 558.

A partial list of the offices held by Negroe preachers, in the South during the reconstruction period will serve to show the extent of the political activity among the Negro churches. Of the fifty-seven Negro delegates to the Constitutional or "Congo" Convention of South Carolina in 1868, seven of the number were preachers;[579] and one of the first congressmen elected in South Carolina after the war was the Reverend R. H. Cain of the Zion Methodist Church and later one of its bishops.[580] The Reverend James W. Hood of the African Methodist Church was a member of the constitutional convention of North Carolina, and later a member of the state legislature and assistant superintendent of education in that state. The Reverend D. I. Walker of the same church was a state senator in South Carolina. The Reverend William H. Heard of the African Church and later elected bishop was a member of the legislature in South Carolina and afterwards United States minister to Liberia. Bishop Henry Turner of the African church was a member of the Georgia legislature, and the Reverend William Thomas of the same church was representative in South Carolina. The Reverend T. G. Campbell of the Zion Church was a state senator in Georgia, and in 1864 was made governor of the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina.[581] Besides this list of legislators other Negro preachers served in political offices of one kind or another.[582]

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[576] Davis, W. W., The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida (New York, 1913), pp. 489-490.
[577] Godman, W. D., Gilbert Academy and Agricultural College (New York, 1893), p. 31.
[578] Sweet, W. W., Methodism in American History, pp. 314-315.
[579] Hollis, John Porter, The Early Period of Reconstruction in South Carolina (Baltimore, 1905), pp. 84-85.
[580] Sweet, W. W., "Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review (March, 1915), I, p. 559.

It is difficult to justify the "invasion" of the South by the Methodist Episcopal Church during the war and the reconstruction period, and starting their work in the territory when the Southern churches were disorganized and at the mercy of the prosperous North. The Northerners felt that they had a religious mission to perform in the South, and they "came to feel that they were redeeming 'rebel' territory, occupied by a people who must of necessity have something the matter with their morals and religion, as well as their politics, or else they would never have championed the institution which they championed, nor challenged the government."[583] The needs of the emancipated Negroes added to the belief that the Northern Church had a religious as well as political mission to perform in that territory. The spirit of the Northern churchmen who went South to reconstruct Methodism was not such as would bear discernment. Worshippers of North and South thrust each other out of churches, and "when the righteous cannot agree where shall the sinner appear."[584] The ministers of the Northern Church stood in the attitude of conquerors, and they differed little in appearance from invaders.[585] When the Northern ministers attempted to reconstruct the Southern Church they found that it was as much bent upon the rejection of religious reconstruction as had been the armies of the one section in resisting the invasion of the other.

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[581] *Ibid.*, pp. 559-560.
[582] Herbert, Hilary A., *The Abolition Crusade and Its Consequences: Four Periods of American History* (New York, 1912), pp. 224-225.
[583] Luccock and Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

Although a majority of the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church went into the South with high and unselfish motives, their desire to reconstruct Methodism in that region was, as such, largely a failure, and after the Southern white people regained control of their state governments and Southern Methodism began to reestablish itself, the Northern Methodists centered their efforts largely upon the education of the Southern Negro.

By the year 1876 the Methodist Episcopal Church had been able to organize seventeen annual conferences in the Southern States. Only one colored conference had been organized during this period, but in many of the conferences the colored members far outnumbered the whites. The following exhibit indicates the strength of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South in 1876:[586]

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[584] *The Christian Educator* (February-March, 1897), pp. 45-46.

[585] Letter of L. C. Matlack in Central Christian Advocate, quoted in Nashville Christian Advocate, and cited in Farish, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[586] *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church for the year 1876*, p. 343 (Alabama); p. 177 (Arkansas); p. 344 (Central Alabama); p. 176 (Florida); p. 345 (Georgia); p. 321 (Holston); p. 194 (Lexington); p. 256 (Louisiana); p. 173 (Mississippi); p. 175 (North Carolina); p. 350 (Savannah); p. 173 (South Carolina); p. 359 (Southern German); p. 332 (Tennessee); p. 358 (Texas); p. 178 (Virginia); p. 360 (West Texas).

Conference	Probationers	Members	Churches	Value	Scholars
Alabama	437	4,351	97	$ 14,110	1,363
Arkansas	668	4,148	38	40,600	1,846
Central Alabama	723	5,209	41	17,135	3,037
Florida	666	1,898	44	22,415	1,426
Georgia	220	2,591	65	29,275	955
Holston	2,692	20,773	190	173,485	10,413
Lexington	1,052	6,871	53	128,400	3,498
Louisiana	2,029	9,285	97	249,900	6,703
Mississippi	3,083	25,721	263	180,920	11,589
North Carolina	1,202	8,517	104	46,005	4,488
Savannah	3,153	9,728	146	94,345	6,931
South Carolina	4,270	26,271	241	188,432	11,532
Southern German	169	10,734	14	24,900	714
Tennessee	1,674	10,594	192	206,940	8,359
Texas	1,714	8,992	60	35,651	3,678
Virginia	1,455	5,638	104	125,200	4,801
West Texas	1,905	6,432	42	60,310	4,029
Total	27,112	157,754	1,891	$1,638,023	85,373

Chapter III

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

One of the chief reasons which called the Methodist Episcopal Church into the Southern states during and after the Civil War was the feeling of responsibility which that Church had toward the education and elevation of the emancipated slave. History has unfortunately centered attention chiefly upon the Northerners who went South for the purposes of political reconstruction, and particularly upon those who were rightly charged with dishonesty and corruption, while it has largely neglected the history of the philanthropic movement to educate the lowly and neglected Negro of that time. The young men and women who participated in this movement were motivated by idealism and they made a sacrificial investment of themselves which even today bears an interest of inestimable value. While the political carpetbagger went into the South to exploit the country politically and economically, those inspired by the educational needs of the "contrabands" went into that region to give the black man the benefits of an education. Although the political and religious reconstruction of the South was a failure as a whole, the sacrificial efforts of the "educational carpetbaggers" more than succeeded.

The invasion of the Federal troops into the Southern states during the war wrought sudden changes in the status of the slaves. When the Union armies occupied certain sections of the South, many of the planters removed their slaves to interior localities which were considered to be safe from further invasion. If Southern planters were reluctant to remove their slaves, the Confederate government attempted to force them to do so, for every able-bodied Negro left behind the Union lines was employed in military pursuits. Some planters resisted the government measure, and upon the approach of the Northern armies fled, leaving their Negroes in the hands of the invaders. Many of the Negroes openly resisted the efforts of owners and officials to carry out this practice, and learning of such a contemplated removal, fled to the Federal lines. Other Negroes attempted to expedite the advent of their freedom by going to meet the appraoching Union armies, and in many cases the number was so great that most of the male population of many plantations was carried away.[1] In 1862 a Confederate general estimated that a million dollars' worth of slaves were escaping each week to the Federal lines.[2] Although some of the slaves had been taught to fear the "Yankees," and others had contempt for the Northern soldier who ruthlessly ransacked his cabin, the great majority of the Negroes welcomed the victorious troops with enthusiasm. "The Negroes were simply frantic with joy," General W. T. Sherman said. "They clustered about my horse, shouted and prayed. . . . I have witnessed hundreds if not thousands of such scenes; and can now see a poor girl in the very ecstasy of the 'Methodist' shout, hugging the banner of one of the regiments and jumping up to the 'feet of Jesus.'"[3]

Although many of the Negroes were ignorant of the issues of the war, others were well informed through the workings of the system of

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[1] Staples, T. S., Reconstruction in Arkansas 1862-1874 (New York, 1923), p. 183.

[2] Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Series 1, IX, 477, as cited in Wiley, Bell I., Southern Negroes 1861-1865 (New Haven, 1938), p. 9.

[3] Sherman W. T., Memoirs, II, 180, as cited in Wiley, op. cit., p. 15.

"grapevine" information. A vague belief existed among the majority of the Negroes that somehow their future freedom was at stake in the outcome of the war. They knew that the South would carry on the war to the bitter end to keep them in bondage, and they reasoned that if the South were defeated, it meant that the time of freedom, for which they had waited and prayed, had come. It was not clear in the minds of the Negroes what freedom meant for if they could have seen into the future, it is probable that many of them would have recoiled from all that it entailed. Nevertheless, they looked forward to release from phusical bondage and the opportunity to rise higher in the scale of human life. It will be remembered that many of the Negroes possessed rudiments of education which they had received from the hands of their Southern owners and missionaries and thus had received a knowledge of the language and many of the ideals of Southern civilization. Freedom meant to the Negro that he would be able to go to school and develop his capacities as far as his abilities would allow. So, the "Yankee" soldier in his blue uniform was a symbol of his deliverance and future opportunities.[4]

Booker T. Washington stated that his first knowledge of the approaching freedom of the Negro race was acquired "early one morning before day when I was awakened by my mother kneeling over her children and fervently praying that Lincoln and his armies might be successful and that one day she and her children might be free." He also said that even though he was a small child furing the conflict, he later recalled "the many late-at-night whispered discussions" in which the slaves talked of the possibilities of deliverance from bondage. He further stated that "even the most ignorant members of my race on the remote plantations felt in their hearts that the freedom of the slaves would be the one great result of the war, if the northern armies conquered . . . I have never seen one who did not want to be free or one who would return to slavery."[5]

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[4] For a detailed account of the attitude of the Negro toward freedom see Wiley, op. cit., Chapter I, pp. 3-23.

When the Negroes flocked to the Union lines in great numbers, the army officials were at a loss to know how to care for them. The disposition of these persons was made more difficult by the fact that under the strict observance of the Fugitive Slave Law and the statutes of the invaded states, the Federal authorities had no authority to harbor those who took refuge within their lines. Planning to over throw the rebellion without interfering with the institution of slavery,[6] the Federal Government was compelled to observe these laws in order to keep the border states in the Union. As early as 1861 the problem of the disposition of "refugeeing" slaves was forced upon the Federal authorities in Virginia. When General Benjamin F. Butler assumed command of the Military Department of Virginia on May 22 of that year, several Negroes escaped from their owners the following night and took refuge within the Federal lines. Upon questioning them, Butler found that they had been employed in erecting Confederate fortifications, and immediately declared them to be "contraband of war" and as such to be retained in the Federal encampment.[7]

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[5] Washington, Booker T., Up From Slavery, (New York, 1901), pp. 7-15.

[6] Nicolay, John G. and Hay, John, Abraham Lincoln: A History (New York, 1917), VI, 152. (One month before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, President Lincoln wrote to Horace Greely, and said in part: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it . . ."

[7] Pierce, E. L., "The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe," Atlantic Monthly, VIII, (1861), pp. 630-636.

Other commanders of the Union armies refused to permit slaves to enter the lines at all, and several of them returned the slaves to their former owners. This action drew a protest from the Reverend Robert Allyn, a Methodist minister in Cincinnati, who said in 1863: "It is . . . right and proper to say that thus far our generals and other officers seem strangely lacking in common-sense in the treatment of the negroes. There are many who treat them like pariahs indeed, as though they really and without controversy had no rights which white men are bound to respect." After recounting the experience of several refugees who had attempted to journey to Cincinnati, Allyn said: "They reached Louisville, and were there taken off, cast into jail as runaways, and by and by they will be sold, according to the sharp practices of some shrewd Kentucky Unionists, for jail fees. The thing has occurred more than once."[8] Dr. Edward Thomson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church reported the condition of a large number of "contrabands" who marched into Washington in 1863. He said: "they were of all sizes, from six feet to twelve inches; one hundred of them in arms. All were of the class of field hands, and black as the ace of spades. . . . Their garments were of the most various and imperfect kind, scarce covering the nudity of the wearers; those of the women were in many cases most fantastic; in that manufacture quilts, blankets and even carpets, had been brought into requisition. Women and men were generally without hats or shoes. . . ."[9]

The attitude of the Federal Government passed rapidly through four stages from 1861 to 1863 in regard to the status of the Negro. At first the Negro was entirely ignored as an issue and not allowed to enter the Federal lines, even though the fortunes of war left him destitute and homeless. The second stage was reached when the Secretary of War approved the action of General Butler in declaring such Negroes as were found within the Federal lines "contraband of war." A third stage was reached when Congress passed the Confiscation Act on July 17, 1862, giving the President authority to free the slaves and confiscate property of any one in a state of rebellion, free all escaping or captured slaves, and to use Negroes in any manner for the suppression of the rebellion. The final stage was reached in the Emancipation Proclamation, whereby all slaves in those areas held by the Confederate army were declared free. This act not only made all Negroes in those areas free men, but placed upon the Federal Government the obligation to make arrangements for their well-being.[10] Although the enactment into law of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments legally raised the Negro from slavery to citizenship, much more than this was needed to make his freedom real and significant. Those from the North who were in close touch with the conditions of the Negro in these early years of the Civil War, realized that some form of education and discipline would be necessary. Thus several of the army commanders, such as General Rufus Saxton, were put in charge of the Negro affairs. They immediately gave them employment and began correspondence with influential groups in Northern cities describing the opportunity for philanthropy which the conditions among Negroes presented. The result of the appeals to the North to people who were already interested in the welfare of the Southern Negro was immediate. It was the beginning of the freedmen's relief organizations of various kinds, some of which continued their work among the Negroes until 1874.[11] As a result of the cooperation of such societies schools were established for the Negroes under the direction of General Rufus Saxton in the Southeast, General John Eaton in Mississippi, and General N. P. Banks in Louisiana. Thus, for the first time, an extensive experiment in education was carried on under the supervision of the Federal Government.

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[8] Letter of Rev. Robert Allyn to the Christian Advocate and Journal, April 2, 1863.

[9] Christian Advocate and Journal, June 11, 1863.

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[10] Holmes, D. O. W., The Evolution of the Negro College, (New York, 1934), pp. 24-25.

Soon after the organization of the "Freedmen's Aid" societies, teachers were commissioned by these groups to follow the armies into the South and begin the work of educating the Negro. In March, 1862, a group of thirty-one teachers set sail from New York and landed at Port Royal, South Carolina. Their respective societies paid them salaries from twenty-five to fifty dollars a month, and the government furnished them transportation, food, and quarters. A few of the teachers paid their own expenses, and a number of them made liberal contributions to the enterprise.[12] Most of the teachers were young men just out of the Eastern colleges; cultivated, high-minded, bent on accomplishing this undertaking, with a determination characteristic of the early Christian missionaries. In addition to their duties as teachers, they distributed supplies to the needy, and some of them were designated as superintendents of one or more plantations, directing the planting and cultivation of cotton and corn crops for the Federal government. At the beginning of the summer, ninety-three representatives of the eastern benevolent societies were at work as superintendents and teachers on the islands South Carolina.[13] In one of his reports General Saxton said of the "contrabands": "They all manifested an intense desire to learn and seemed to have the intuition that it is by the means of an education that they are to rise in the scale of citizenship. During the harvesting and planting time it is a common sight to see groups of children going to school after having completed their tasks in the field."[14]

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[11] Prominent among these freedmen's relief organizations are the following: New England Freedmen's Relief Society, Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, Northwestern Freedmen's Relief Association, New York National Freedmen's Relief Association, Pennsylvania Freedmen's Association, Western Sanitary Commission, Friend's Association for Aid of Freedmen of Philadelphia, African Methodist Episcopal Church Society, Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, American Union Commission, African Civilization Society, Delaware Association, New England Society Branches. (Jones, T. J., Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1916, No. 38, (Washington, 1917), p. 296.

[12] Wiley, op. cit., p. 179.

The experiment in Negro education carried out under the direction of the Federal officials and benevolent teachers along the Eastern seaboard was an opportunity to test the Negroes' capacity for learning and advancement under the conditions of his new status. That the experiment was successful is borne out by the last report of General Saxton. He stated:

> The experiment with the Freedmen in this department is a success. Amid all their obstructions and in spite of all, they have made constant progress and proved their right to be received into full communion of free men. They have shown that they can appreciate freedom as the highest boon; that they will be industrious and provident, with the same incitements which stimulate the industry of other men in free societies . . . that they are not ignorant from natural incapacity but from the brutishness of their former condition; that they are intelligent, eager and apt to acquire knowledge of letters; docile and receptive pupils; that they aspire to and adopt, as fast as means and opportunity admit, the social forms and habits of civilization; that they quickly get rid of in freedom the faults and vices generated by slavery and in truthfulness, fidelity, and honesty may be compared favorably with men of another color in conditions less unfavorable for the development of those

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[13] Ibid., p. 180.

[14] Mayo, A. D., "Common Schools in the South," in United States Commissioner of Education, Annual Report, 1901, I, p. 419.

> qualities. . . .[15]

The second experiment of the Federal Government in Negro education through the agency of its military force, was initiated in 1862 when General Grant appointed Chaplain John Eaton to take charge of all fugitive slaves that had come within the Federal lines in the department of the Tennessee.[16] Eaton's description of the fugitive's condition is as follows:

> Imagine, if you will, a slave population, springing from antecedent barbarism, rising up and leaving its ancient bandage, forsaking its local tradition and all the associations and attractions of the old plantation life, coming garbed in rags or in silks, with feet shod or bleeding, individually or in families and larger groups,--an army of slaves and fugitives . . . The arrival among us of these hordes was like the oncoming of cities. There was no plan in this exodus, no Moses to lead it. Unlettered reason or the mere inarticulate decision of instinct brought them to us. . . . Their condition was appalling. There were men, women, and children in every stage of disease or decrepitude, often nearly naked with flesh torn by terrible experiences of their escapes. Sometimes they were intelligent and eager to help themselves; often they were bewildered or stupid or possessed by the wildest notions of what liberty might mean,--expecting to exchange labor, and obedience to the will of another, for idleness and freedom from restraint. Such ignorance and perverted notions produced a veritable moral chaos. Cringing deceit, theft, licentiousness--all the vices which slavery inevitably fosters--were the hideous companions of nakedness, famine, and disease. A few had profited by the misfortunes of the master and were jubilant in their unwonted ease and luxury, but these stood in lurid contrast to the grimmer aspects of the tragedy,--the women in travail, the helplessness of childhood and of old age, the horrors of sickness and of frequent death. Small wonder that men passed in bewilderment and panic, forseeing the demoralization and infection of the Union soldier and the downfall of the Union cause.[17]

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[15] Ibid., pp. 423-424.
[16] Eaton, John, Grant, Lincoln, and the Freedmen (New York, 1907), p. 20.
[17] Ibid., pp. 1-3.

After receiving orders from General Grant, giving him complete authority over the freedmen, Eaton established a camp for them and set about caring for their needs. In order to establish some sort of discipline, the Negroes were organized into companies, and set to work in the cotton fields and at other forms of labor. In 1863 Eaton found himself in charge of approximately 800,000 Negroes in the four states of Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana. As a part of his program for the Negroes, he established schools for them in a half dozen cities, which were reported to be as successful as the schools on the eastern seaboard.

While the commanders in other parts of the South were attempting to solve the problem of the fugitive slaves, General B. F. Butler was confronted with the same problem in Louisiana soon after his arrival in the spring of 1862. He was not as successful in the solution of the problem as General Banks who took command of the forces in Louisiana in December 1862. Banks selected a committee of the most intelligent Negroes in the state and sent them into the parishes to canvass the desires of their race. The committee found that the Negroes desired the following program from the Federal authorities:

> First, that their families should not be separated; second, that they should not be flogged; third, that they should not be compelled to labor where they had been abused; fourth, that they should have schools; and fifth, that they should be paid reasonable wages for their toil.[18]

These requests were granted, and a general order was issued in February 1864, which made provisions for the establishment of a sufficient number of schools--one at least for each of the police and school districts--

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[18] Banks, N. P., Emancipated Labor in Louisiana, p. 7, as cited in Holmes, op. cit., p. 29.

and placed under the direction of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.[19] Another order issued by General Banks in March 1864, established a Board of Education, which controlled all education among the Negroes in the department of the Gulf.[19] The school system set up by this body functioned until December 1865, during which time more than 50,000 colored people learned to read and write.[20] The desire of the blacks in Louisiana for education was so strong, that Chaplain Brakeman reported in 1864 that the freedmen of Baton Rouge had set up their own society for the "education and elevation of the colored race." The Negroes at that place proposed paying a tax for free schools among themselves. Although this move had been made by the Negroes, Chaplain Brakeman was on the opinion that "they must have help from abroad."[21]

Various reports from the South during the Civil War announced that the Negroes were eager to acquire an education. The whole race wanted to go to school; "none were too old, and few too young."[22] In the minds of the freedmen there was a close connection between freedom and learning. Booker T. Washington tells of the craze for education among the Negroes. They believed that this education would make them the equal of the whites, and free them from the grinding labor which had been their lot in the past.[23] Primary school books were issued to the Negroes who joined the Federal army. One chaplain reported that "they carry their books around with them out on fatigue and picket duty. The 'niggers' to the great vexation and indignation of Southern aristocracy and dignity, may be seen, book in hand, at the corner of the street, or on a drayman's cart, or astride a mule, or in an army wagon, or settled on some box, barrel or cotton bale along the levee studying out the English alphabet."[24] In comparing the masses of Negroes liberated by the Emancipation Proclamation with the masses liberated by the French Revolution, Harriet Beecher Stowe stated that "their enthusiasm and impulse were not for plunder, nor for revenge, nor for drink, nor any form of animal indulgence, but for education."[25] In an address before the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Daniel Curry stated that "of the negroes who followed our armies, almost every one had a spelling-book in his pocket, and was struggling to learn to read--often, no doubt, without any intelligent notion of either the means or the end designed by a literary education, but yet earnestly seeking it."[26] Many of the old Negroes wanted to learn to read the Bible before they died. One writer states that his desire for education was not understood by the North; that the Negroes' thirst for knowledge was more a desire to imitate the whites than an understanding of the value of an education.[27]

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[19] Ibid., p. 29.
[20] Mayo, A. D., Southern Women in the Recent Educational Movement in the South, U. S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, 1892, No. 1, p. 80.
[21] Letter of Chaplain Brakeman to the Northwestern Christian Advocate, February 10, 1864. (Brakeman was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church and prominent in the reorganization of that Church in the South).
[22] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 456.
[23] Washington, B. T., Up From Slavery, pp. 30, 80, 81; The Future of The American Negro, p. 49.

The work of education among the Negroes during the Civil War was encompassed with many difficulties. In many localities the churches abandoned by the white population were used for school purposes, but aside from providing shelter, these buildings were unsuited for school instruction. No provisions were made in many of the places for the separation of classes, and it was not an uncommon sight to behold three or four classes reciting at one time in the same room. The church pews were ill-adapted to writing, and some of them were so high as to obscure the small children from the teacher's view. Eaton states that "the schools were almost uniformly without desks or proper seats, while the diversity among the few and old text-books was such that not even a small class could be provided with uniform readers or school-books of any sort."[28] In some places in the South, even after they passed under Federal control, the opposition to Negro education was so intense that nothing beyond private instruction under military auspices could be attempted.[29] In some sections of the South the only buildings available for the Negro schools were abandoned sheds and cabins. Lack of funds prohibited the erection of new buildings, and the military authorities were reluctant to seize good buildings for fear of arousing the antagonism of loyal people. One of the teachers from the North, Elizabeth Bond, wrote on April 3, 1864:

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[24] Letter of Chaplain Janes to the Northwestern Christian Advocate, March 23, 1864.
[25] Western Christian Advocate, July 16, 1879.
[26] Annual Report of the F. A. S., 1879, pp. 83-84.
[27] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 458.

> I opened a school here (Young's Point, Louisiana) in a rough log house, thirty feet square and so open that the crevices admitted light sufficient without the aid of windows. The furniture consisted of undressed plank benches without backs, from ten to twelve feet long, and in the center of the room stood an old steamboat stove about four feet long which had been taken out of the river.[30]

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[28] Eaton, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.
[30] *Report of the Executive Board of Friends Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen* (May 11, 1864), p. 11, as cited in Wiley, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

Another teacher in one of the parishes of Louisiana wrote of a situation even more discouraging:

> Arrived, found a place to live a mile and a half from the school shed. Dreadful people, dirty and vulgar, but the best I can do. . . . Did well enough till it rained, since then I have walked three miles a day ankle deep in thick black mud that pulls off my shoes. Nothing to eat but strong pork and sour bread. . . . The school shed has no floor and the rains sweep clean across it, through the places where the windows should be. I have to huddle the children first in one corner and then in another to keep them from drowning or swamping.[31]

The programs in the Negro schools supported by the benevolent organizations of the North reflected Northern sentiment to an unusual degree. The Reverend J. E. Round, a missionary teacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, reported a Christmas celebration in one of the contraband schools in 1864. He wrote:

> Of all the 'christmas-trees' I ever beheld none other ever seemed so gratifying . . . as that provided by a New England young lady for the young contrabands under her instruction here. The pupils follow their teacher in singing 'Star-Spangled Banner' . . . such songs as 'Marching Along,' 'John Brown,' 'I'm glad I'm in the Army,' etc. The favorite song among them all at present, both old and young, is that of which the following is the chorus:
>
> 'The Union forever! Hurrah boys, hurrah!
> Down with the traitors! Up with the Stars!
> For we'll rally around the flag boys,
> we'll rally once again,
> Shouting the battle cry of freedom!
>
> New England cool propriety could surely not restrain the mingled smiles, tears, and applause . . . Such at least was the appearance of the sons and daughters of New England that represent her here today.[32]

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[31] Report of the Board of Education for Freedmen, Department of the Gulf, for the year 1864, p. 8, as cited in Wiley, op. cit., p. 271.

[32] Letter of Rev. J. E. Round to the Christian Advocate and Journal, January 21, 1864.

At the exercises held at "Uncle Sam's School," in Arlington, Virginia, the following verse was sung by the students with enthusiasm:

> So come and bring your books and slates
>   And don't be a fool
> For Uncle Sam is rich enough
>   To send us all to school.[33]

The curriculum in the contraband schools consisted for the great part of reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. Some of the schools taught history and geography to the advanced classes, but these cases were quite rare. In addition to the elementary text-books of the day, the Bible was frequently used for the teaching of both reading and spelling. The students learned the alphabet and the multiplication table best by singing them. In some schools sewing was taught to the girls, and in some cases gymnastics and elocution were taught.[34] Practically all the contraband schools emphasized the teaching of religion to the Negro students. This was attributable largely to the fact that most of the teachers were representatives of the religious and benevolent organizations. The schools were generally opened in the morning with scripture readings, prayers, and hymns, and the Bible stories constituted no small part of the exercises of the school day.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was among the first of the religious denominations to enter the work for the education of the freedmen, and among the first to contribute to the support of the contraband schools during the Civil War. Almost as soon as the desperate condition of the Negroes became known, the representatives of the Methodist Church made their way to the settlements and cities of the South, aiding in the educational as well as the relief of the needy. The Reverend John Braden, one of the Methodist teachers in the South during this early period, made the following statement concerning the part played by his Church:

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[33] Freedmen's Record, I (October, 1865), 161, as cited in Wiley, op. cit., p. 289.

[34] Wiley, op. cit., p. 288.

> The Methodist Episcopal Church was early represented in the Christian Commission work among the colored soldiers, and in the camp schools of the freedmen. Her pulpits were open to the agents of the Freedmen's Aid Commission, and the contributions were most liberal. Her members and ministers were active workers and agents for these general commissions. They were engaged as teachers in the work of instruction in the camps and school-houses which were extemporized for the purpose. This Church has had her representatives, both of the ministry and laity, heartily engaged in this work since it was possible to do so.[35]

A reporter to the Northwestern Christian Advocate in 1864 made the statement that "the Methodist Church is well and largely represented in the Christian Commission."[36]

The part played by the Methodist ministers and laymen in the undenominational societies for the aid of the freedmen is evidenced by their activity in the organization and support of these benevolent groups. In 1863, Bishop E. S. Janes and Dr. Edward Thomson served on a committee of the National Freedmen's Relief Association which brought the attention of the churches to the need of contraband relief. The committee met at Cooper's Institute at New York, on November 9, 1863, and passed the following resolution:

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[35] Braden, John, "Educational Work Among the Freedmen by the Methodist Episcopal Church," in Hartzell, Joseph C., (ed.) Christian Educators in Council (New York, 1683), p. 178.
[36] Letter of W. H. Makeany to the Northwestern Christian Advocate, July 13, 1864.

> Resolved, That the Committee be charged with the more immediate duty of calling on our citizens for subscriptions to meet the wants of the negroes on the Mississippi, whose sufferings we have just heard described, and that an effort be made by them for a simultaneous collection in our churches on the Sunday preceding the National Thanksgiving; that the money raised be paid to the treasurer of the National Freedmen's Relief Association, to be distributed at their discretion. . . .[37]

When the American Freedmen's and Union Commission was organized in 1865, Bishop Matthew Simpson was made its president. The object of this society was:

> To aid and cooperate with the people of the South, without distinction of race or color in the improvement of their condition, upon the basis of industry, education, freedom, and Christian morality. No school or supply depots shall be maintained, from the benefits of which any person shall be excluded.[38]

Although the Methodists worked in cooperation with the Eastern Freedmen's societies, and the Methodist churches contributed liberally to their appeals, they were not as prominent in these societies as they were in the Western organizations, particularly the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission and the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission. The first society in the West, whose purpose was the relief of the "contrabands," was organized in Cincinnati in the fall of 1862, and called the "Contraband Relief Commission". Soon after its organization, Levi Coffin, who had earned the title of "President of the Underground Railroad," visited the contraband camp at Cairo, Illinois, and, on his return to Cincinnati, made a statement of his observations to a group of interested individuals. He was not only impressed with the great need of material relief, especially clothing and supplies, among the contrabands, but also with the opportunity of beginning a work of education among them. When the question of sending teachers was presented to the Board of the Contraband Relief Commission, it was held that the means at their disposal had been contributed for material relief and not for education, and hence could not be used in school work. The result was the withdrawal from the organization of a number of the original members, who proceeded to organize the "Western Freedmen's Aid Commission," with the clearly defined purpose of sending teachers as well as material relief to the contrabands. This society was organized near the close of 1862, and only a short time prior to the Proclamation of Emancipation. Among the Methodist founders of this society were Reverend Calvin Kingsley (afterwards bishop), Reverend Adam Poe, Agent of the Western Methodist Book Concern, and Joseph F. Larkin. Other founders were from the Congregational, Friends, Baptist, Presbyterian, and United Presbyterian churches.[39]

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[37] The Christian Advocate and Journal, November 19, 1863.
[38] United States Civil War Pamphlets, Vol. 38.

In December 1862, Dr. Kingsley urged the Reverend John M. Walden, afterwards a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, to take an official position in the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission. It was an important suggestion, for Walden was to influence the development of the Methodist work among Negroes to a great degree. In recalling this incident some forty-five years later Bishop Walden stated:

> In December 1862 Dr. Kingsley representing the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission asked me to become Corresponding Secretary of that society . . . . referring to the immediate needs of the Society as pressing he asked me to give such time to the office as I could command even an hour or two daily until they could provide for the

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[39] The Christian Educator (February-March, 1898), p. 63; Ibid., (January, 1891,) pp. 46-47.

> service. This was just before the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect on January 1, 1863, changing contrabands into Freedmen. Early in January of that year more than 45 years ago, I sent a small band of teachers to the camps at Cairo (Island No. 10) understood to be the first commissioned teachers sent to the freedmen in the Mississippi Valley. Thus I was led into the work in behalf of the Freed people and have remained in some official relation to it through all the intervening years.[40]

As Walden states, he accepted the appointment as corresponding secretary, though it was understood to be temporary. He carried forward his work in behalf of the freedmen and his pastoral duties in Cincinnati until the fall of 1864. At the request of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission and of the Cincinnati Annual Conference, he was appointed corresponding secretary of the Society by Bishop Simpson on September 13, 1864, and gave his entire time to this service.[41]

Reverend Richard S. Rust, M. B. Hagans, Reverend H. M. Storrs, and others, early became identified with this Commission. Several of the freedmen's societies were federated in 1865, under the name of the American Freedmen's Aid Commission, and in the fall of that year, Dr. Walden became the Western secretary of this Association, while retaining his relation to the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission. The Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission was in the federation; being without a secretary, it was necessary for Dr. Walden to give much time to the administration of that Commission, and Dr. Rust, who at that time was president of the Cincinnati Wesleyan Female College, aided in the administration of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission at Cincinnati. In 1866 the Reverend Adam Poe of the Methodist Book Concern was serving as president of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, and Dr. Rust was its corresponding secretary.[42] Among other Methodists who held positions in the aid societies for the freedmen were Reverend Uriah Eberhart and Reverend C. P. Pillsbury, agents of the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission; Reverends J. R. Stillman, J. R. Luke, and J. F. Jacues, agents for the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission; and H. S. White, William Livesay, A. C. Rose, S. Q. Gibson, A. D. Martin, and C. C. Cone were agents for other societies and commissions.[43]

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[40] Walden MSS. In possession of Dr. W. W. Sweet of the University of Chicago.

[41] The Christian Educator (Feb.-March, 1898), p. 63.

The university at Nashville, Tennessee, with which the name of General Clinton B. Fisk is associated, grew out of the "Fisk School" planted in Nashville in 1864 by the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission. General Fisk, who at that time was in control of the Freedmen's Bureau in Kentucky and Tennessee, and who was "with a warm-hearted promptness ready to give the aid within his power to Christian workers among the soldiers and Freedmen," was instrumental in the founding of the school. Dr. Walden writes the following in regard to the establishment of the "Fisk School:"

> Professor Ogden, whom I had placed in charge of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission work at Nashville and vicinity, applied to General Fisk for certain unoccupied army hospital buildings for school purposes. The result was a proposition to turn the buildings over to the society for such purposes if it would purchase the land on which they stood. The proposition was reported to the office at Cincinnati. General Fisk and I concurred in having Professor Ogden explain the matter to the board. At this juncture occurred

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[42] Letter of Rev. J. M. Walden to the Northwestern Christian Advocate, March 14, 1866.

[43] General Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1861-1865.

> what General Fisk referred to in public more than once, and hence may be named here: I propose to assume raising of the money if the purchase be authorized. It was done, and Brother Larkin advanced the amount of the first payment on my individual paper, the purchase was consummated, General Fisk turned over the buildings, and the school that was opened there was called 'The Fisk School.'[44]

In a letter from the Reverend D. J. Holmes. a Methodist minister in Nashville, to the Northwestern Christian Advocate of February 7, 1866, it was intimated that the funds of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, an undenominational society, were being used for sectarian purposes in connection with the Fisk School. The American Missionary Association, largely supported by the Congregationalists, had joint control of the school and Mr. Holmes expressed the fear that it would become a sectarian school. Dr. Walden in reply to this apprehension stated that "the probabilities of its becoming a sectarian school must be judged from these facts: In the Directory of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, every prominent denomination is about equally represented. Rev. Dr. Poe of the M. E. Book Concern is President; Rev. Dr. Rust, of the Cincinnati Conference is Corresponding Secretary; its agent at Nashville who, with the Agent of the American Missionary Society has joint control of the 'Fisk School' selected because of his eminent fitness for the place--is a local preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church."[45] Nevertheless, the Fisk School became the property of the American Missionary Association after the Methodists had withdrawn their support from the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission and the work of that organization ceased to be distinct, finally losing its identity. The Fisk School grew into Fisk University. When the "Jubilee Singers" of Fisk University toured the country raising money for the school bearing the name of General Fisk, his prominence as a Methodist led thousands to suppose that it was a Methodist school.[46] Bishop Walden continued to maintain an interest in Fisk University throughout his life, stating in 1890:

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[44] Walden, J. M., "General Fisk and the Freedmen's Schools," in The Christian Educator, (October, 1890), pp. 28-30.

[45] Letter of J. M. Walden to the Northwestern Christian Advocate, March 14, 1866.

> Well, it is even true that but for the large-hearted Methodist general and the Methodist corresponding secretary of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, and money raised chiefly in meetings held in Methodist Churches, the Fisk School would not have been planted as it was. Though now under Congregational auspices, it is, in a measure at least, a Methodist monument to a Methodist whom our whole Church honored.[47]

The religious denominations of the North were faithful in the support of the many freedmen's aid societies. Work among the Negroes soon became one of the great benevolent enterprises of the Christian churches. In the West, the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission contributed $227,000 to the support of teachers in the South in 1865, and in the same year the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission sent as many as fifty teachers to the Negro schools.[48] Dr. Walden stated in December 1875: "It was my privilege--I count it an honor--to commission and send to the South four hundred teachers--Christians of sterling worth; among them accomplished young women, from homes possessed of every thing that heart could wish, who, constrained by the love of Christ, hastened to the self-sought task of teaching the young and old, and, when not in school, distributing the means of relief to the needy and suffering. . . ."[49]

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[46] Walden, J. M., "General Fisk and the Freedmen's Schools," in *The Christian Educator* (October, 1890), p. 30.
[47] *Loc. cit.*
[48] Woodson, C. G., *The History of the Negro Church* (Washington, 1921), p. 207.

The Methodist Episcopal Church as a whole was receptive to the movement for the education of the Negroes. The Church periodicals threw open their columns to the promotion of the various aid societies. In 1863, Dr. Edward Thomson, editor of the Christian Advocate and Journal, stated: "No organization in the country commends itself more strongly to the public munificence than the Freedmen's Relief Association . . . They (the freedmen) are now without shelter, bed, food, or the means of obtaining either, further than they are supplied by the public charity. This statement is enough to move our sympathies and call forth our aid."[50] At the session of the New York East Conference in 1863 a resolution was passed urging aid for the "contrabands." The Conference resolved:

> That we recognize, as a part of the great system of American slavery, that spirit of fierce and scorching oppression now existing in these free Southern states, which places what so justly are called 'black laws' on our statute books; which raises mobs for the slaughter of a defenseless race within our midst; which opposes its education in order to make its ignorance a ground of further degradation; and we call upon the Christian Church of all denominations, in the midst of their zeal for the heathenism of foreign lands, to let an oppressed race at home experience a small share of their humanity, philanthropy, and Christianity.[51]

In 1864 and 1865 the same Conference expressed confidence in the National Freedmen's Relief Association and the Minutes of 1865 announced that "no doubt is felt by those, who by observation are best qualified to judge, that in a few years they will present to the world the unlooked phenomenon of an educated people."[52] According to the reports of the Conference in 1865 the National Freedmen's Relief Association had received and disbursed from its organization in February 1862 to that date over $450,000, and from January 1 to April 1, 1865, the Association had sustained 150 teachers in the South.[53] A description of the schools maintained by this Association was inserted in the Minutes of the New York East Conference stating they consisted of "day schools for youth and children, night schools for adults, industrial schools to teach the women to cut and make clothing for themselves and children, and Sunday schools for all."[54] After informing the constituency of the Methodists of the New York East Conference that "this greatest charity of any age is hourly becoming more imperative in its demands," and that "the call is emphatic to every friend of the race, to be an earnest co-worker with Providence in behalf of the suffering and ignorant millions," the Committee on Freedmen urged the members of the Conference to take a deep interest in the objects of the Association, and encourage their congregations "to contribute money for the schools, asylums, and hospitals under its care, and to gather clothing, new and old, for the ragged, suffering freedmen."[55] The report of a similar committee from the Cincinnati Conference in 1864 stated that, while they heartily approved of the work of the various organizations for relief of the freedmen, they felt a special interest in the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission.[56] The report from the Committee on Freedmen of the

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[49] Annual Report of the F. A. S., 1875, p. 92.
[50] Christian Advocate and Journal, October 22, 1863.
[51] Minutes of the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1863, p. 33.

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[52] Ibid., 1865, p. 43.
[53] Loc. cit.
[54] Minutes of the N. Y. East Conference of the M. E. Church, 1865, p. 43.
[55] Loc. cit.
[56] Minutes of the Cincinnati Conference of the M. E. Church, 1864, pp. 22-23.

Indiana Conference stated: ". . . that it is our duty to welcome in our midst the regular constituted agents of the Freedmen's Aid Commission and assit them in encouraging all our people to contribute money and clothing to relieve the suffering of the Negro contrabands."[57] Most of the Methodist Conferences in the North passed similar resolutions pledging their assistance to the movement for the education and relief of the freedmen.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1864 took action upon the question of the relation of the Church to the needy Freedmen of the South. A report adopted by that body stated that: "The grave problem in regard to this people, which has long baffled statesmen and Christians, is being wrought out in our day. While the Government is investing the neglected and despised bondmen with freedom, the way opens for Christian benevolence to throw around them those elevating influences of civilization by which they may be prepared for the higher achievements of man."[58] The report of the Committee on Freedmen at the General Conference stated that God had caused the virtual overthrow of the rebellion and the freedom of the slaves; that the greatest need of the freedmen was education to enable them to read the Bible. The Committee reported that while the government gave them freedom, the opportunity and obligation for the Churches to elevate and Christianize them had arisen.[59] The General Conference adopted the following resolutions submitted by the Committee on Freedmen:

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[57] Minutes of the Indiana Conference of the M. E. Church, 1864, p. 32.
[58] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1864, p. 441.
[59] Ibid., pp. 440-442.

> Resolved, 1. That in the events which have thrown the thousands of freed people upon the benevolence of the humane people of the North, we recognize a providential call to the Christian people for contributions for their physical relief and mental and moral elevation, and especially to the Church of Christ for the means of their evangelization.
>
> Resolved, 2. That the . . . associations, organized in behalf of the freed people, are engaged in a work of benevolence that we regard with special interest, and commend to the liberality of our people everywhere as worthy of their sympathy and support.[60]

Soon after the Conference had been called to order, the Reverend Hugh D. Fisher of the Kansas Conference offered a resolution commending the cause of the freedmen to the Church membership and it was adopted. The resolution stated:

> Whereas, In God's providence, by the march of our armies, and our good President's 'Emancipation Proclamation,' hundreds of thousands of those who at the commencement of the war were slaves, have obtained their freedom, and are thrown homeless, ignorant, and destitute, without the means of self-support or instruction, upon the charities of the loyal people of these states; and
>
> Whereas, the 'Boston Educational Association,' the 'Western Freedmen's Aid Commission,' the 'National Freedmen's Relief Association,' the 'Northwestern Freedmen's Relief Association,' the 'Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association,' and the 'Western Sanitary Commission,' with numerous auxiliary societies, have been organized for the purpose of relieving the various wants of the increasingly large, helpless, and suffering class of people, and
>
> Whereas, Their appeals to the public have been responded to by the contributions of hundreds of thousands of dollars in cash and clothing, with other material and educational help, by the loyal and Christian people; and
>
> Whereas, We have reason to believe that the societies above named have expended the means thus placed at their disposal for the benefit of the needy judiciously and honestly; therefore
>
> Resolved, That the Committee on Freedmen be requested to express our gratitude to and confidence in the societies

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[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 265-266.

> laboring for the alleviation of the woes of the freedmen, and to all persons who have given help to this cause.
>
> We rejoice to know that the above named societies have promptly met, as far as practicable, the numerous calls from the white refugees, and that the Western Sanitary Commission, occupying the slave soil, has given part of its energies, and specially obtained means for these laudable objects.
>
> We would request the committee to express our hearty commendation of these societies, and the object for which they labor, and recommend their claims to all lovers of our common humanity.*

Although great strides were being made in the education of the Negroes by the various freedmen's associations, there arose a feeling among many persons of judgment and influence that the Federal Government should take steps in the solution of this growing problem in a large and systematic way. Agitation arose in the North for the establishment of such a bureau by the Federal Government for the relief and education of the colored people of the South. At the first annual meeting of the United States Commission for the relief of freedmen in Washington, February 5, 1864, representing the various freedmen's associations in the Eastern, Middle, and Western states, resolutions were passed urging the President and Congress to set up a Bureau of Emancipation, or Freedmen's Affairs to assist in the benevolent work.[61]

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1864 passed resolutions urging the National Government to enter the work of elevating the freedmen, stating, " . . . the best interests of the freedmen and of the country demand legislation that shall foster and protect this people, and we hereby respectfully but earnestly urge upon Congress the importance of establishing, as soon as practicable, a Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs . . ."[62]

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* Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1864, pp.129-130

[61] Northwestern Christian Advocate, February 17, 1864.

As a result of the petitions to the President and to Congress and of general publicity in the newspapers and Church periodicals, the Freedmen's Bureau Act of March 3, 1865 created a bureau in the War Department to which was given control of all matters pertaining to freedmen, refugees, and abandoned lands. Congress made no appropriation for the purpose of carrying out the law, and for the first year the Bureau was maintained by taxes on cotton, fines, rents of lands and buildings, donations, and by sales of crops and confiscated Southern cotton.[63] On July 16, 1866, a second Bureau Bill, amplifying the previous law, and extending the Bureau to July 16, 1868, was passed over the veto of President Johnson. In 1868, the Bureau was extended for another year, and in January 1869, it was discontinued, except for such educational work as was then under its direction.[64] Until the Bureau was formally discontinued in 1872, it had a virtual guardianship over the 4,000,000 slaves freed by the events which had taken place during the Civil War.[65] The Bureau was supported by the Christian churches in the North,[66] and it found no more loyal supporters than the Methodist Episcopal Church press and pulpit.[67]

General Oliver O. Howard was selected by Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War, to head the newly formed "Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands." Before his death, President Lincoln had expressed the desire to have General Howard placed in this position. After studying the matter, General Howard accepted the position and was appointed by President Johnson on May 12, 1865.[68] The announcement of his acceptance and appointment was well received throughout the country.[69]

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[62] Journal of the General Conference, 1864, pp. 265-266; The Methodist Almanac for 1865, p. 49.
[63] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 423.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Holmes, op. cit., p. 34.
[66] Bowen, Trevor, Divine White Right, p. 115.
[67] Western Christian Advocate, October 18, 1865.

With headquarters in Washington, General Howard set about the organization of the Freedmen's Bureau, dividing the Southern area into ten districts over each of which was placed an assistant commissioner. All of these officials came from the ranks of the army, and most of the officials of the Bureau during its existence were army men.

When General Howard opened his headquarters in Washington, the various benevolent organizations of the North who had been working among the freedmen for some three or four years, expressed their desire to consider the Freedmen's Bureau a helper and ally. Howard said: "At least thirty Northern benevolent societies had written letters," expressing these sentiments and assuring him that their workers in the South looked upon him "as their friend and coadjutor."[70]

When the Freedmen's Bureau was created,[71] the bill did not include provisions for the education of the newly emancipated slaves. Howard, in his first report called attention to this necessity, and asked for a broadening of the powers of the Bureau. In July 1866, education became one of the recognized functions of the bureau, and the anxiety of many of the friends of the organization was removed. During the first year of the existence of the bureau, little was done along educational lines.

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[68] Howard, O. O., Autbbiography (New York, 1907), II, 209.
[69] Holmes, op. cit., p. 35.
[70] Howard, op. cit., p. 218.
[71] For a full treatment of the Freedmen's Bureau see Pierce, Paul S., The Freedmen's Bureau. Bulletin of the State University of Iowa, New Series, No. 74. Iowa City, 1904.

When the reconstruction program of the Southern states was set in motion, many of the confiscated buildings which had been used by the benevolent organizations were returned to their owners, and this action seriously hampered the educational work of the societies. The societies, with the backing of the bureau officials, brought pressure to bear on Congress, urging a dependable and adequate program of the support of their educational work in the South. Following this procedure, favorable legislation was enacted, with the result that in the army appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 1867, a sum of $521,000 was set aside to be used for educational purposes out of a total of $6,944,450 for the entire support of the bureau work.[72]

In December 1868, General Howard met the Methodist ministers of Baltimore and vicinity, for the purposes of promoting the Negro schools in that region. It appears that the Methodists of that section of the country were reluctant to enter enthusiastically into the movement for the education of the colored race. A correspondent to the Zion's Herald reported the occasion in the following words:

> A meeting of a most interesting character was held in this city . . . on the subject of the education of the colored people of Maryland, between Generals O. O. Howard and Charles Howard, and Reverend John Kimball, Superintendent of colored schools in this state, and the Methodist Episcopal clergymen of Baltimore and vicinity, at their regular weekly ministerial assembly. General O. O. Howard gave an account of the efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau in the Southern States to educate, and to elevate the condition of this unfortunate race. . . . Up to this time the Methodist Churches of this city and State had stood aloof from this work, and the object of his present visit was to see if he could not enlist the influence and efforts of the ministers of the city . . . to engage in this great enterprise.

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[72] Holmes, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

> Mr. Kimball gave some account of their operations in Maryland, and stated that there were at least 30 schools throughout the State that were closed because no places to board could be procured for white teachers who taught colored schools. There were white teachers enough to be had if this difficulty could be removed. Colored teachers would be tolerated in most of these neighborhoods but suitable colored teachers could not yet be obtained. He thought if the Bureau could only secure the aid and influence of the Methodists, who were so numerous throughout Maryland, there would be no difficulty in soon opening again and sustaining these schools.*

Although no objections were offered to the education of the colored people, no action was taken by this Methodist assembly. The editor of the Zion's Herald, Dr. Gilbert Haven, stated: "We are glad to see General Howard has summoned the ministers of our Church at Baltimore to confer with him respecting the education of our colored people in Maryland. We learned when in Baltimore that but one church there of our denomination has ever taken up a collection in this behalf. . . . These days require action, and that immediately. Gentlemen on the fence are neither useful nor ornamental."[73]

The favorable attitude of the Federal Government as expressed through the Freedmen's Bureau gave encouragement to the benevolent organizations working among the Negroes of the South; for the support of this governmental agency was backed up by the physical protection of the army, which still remained in the South, and gave them protection from the violence of Southern mobs which had threatened the work from the very beginning and increased as the political reconstruction of the Southern states progressed. In the Report on Schools and Finances for Freedmen for January 1866, J. W. Alvord bore out this need for military protection for schools and teachers among the freedmen. He said:

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* Zion's Herald, December 31, 1868.

[73] Ibid.

> Permit me distinctly to call attention to the fact that this whole educational movement among the freedmen must, for the present, be protected by the general government. I need not repeat, what appears all through this report, viz.: that military force alone can save many of our schools from being broken up, or enable us to organize new schools. Such is the improper spirit in many parts of the South, that where as yet there have been no atrocities attempted against the schools, protecting power is called for to give that sense of quiet and consciousness of security which the calm duties of both teacher and pupil require.[74]

Reports from the whole Southern field in 1866, submitted by the assistant commissioners, led General Howard to the opinion that opposition to Negro education in the South had declined considerably, for he stated that the "sentiment of the white South to the education of the Negro had appreciably improved especially among the better class, who conceded that education must be universal."[75] By 1868, however, the opposition to Negro education was well organized in the South, and the teachers and workers among the Negroes in some places were persecuted, whipped, and driven out of the country.[76] Where the military forces ruled with a strong hand, these occurrences were rare, and the many reports of violence sent to the North were used as an argument for continued military and governmental supervision. In 1868, the Reverend R. D. Harper, a Northern Methodist preacher and "Superintendent of Education" in Alabama under the Freedmen's Bureau, reported that there was a reaction against Negro education in that state; that the whites were opposed to the schools of the Freedmen's Bureau on account of their teachers, who, the whites claim -

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[74] Alvord, J. W., Report on Schools and Finances of Freedmen, January 1866, p. 22.

[75] Report of Commissioner of Freedmen's Bureau, 1866, p. 67, as cited in Holmes, op. cit., p. 42.

[76] For the reports concerning the persecution of teachers in the South see the House Miscellaneous Documents, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, 13 volumes, under the title of "Ku Klux Klan Investigation."

ed, preached and upheld the theories of social and political equality; the Negroes were spending too much of their time in politics in 1867 and 1868, and spent most of their money in the campaigns; the teachers were ostracized from white society and could not find board with white people. Because of these conditions, Harper reported that some schools had been broken up.[77]

There has always been a divided opinion as to the results of the activities of the Freedmen's Bureau in the South with regard to the relief of suffering and in respect to matters of education and religion. Walter L. Fleming offers the following estimate of the controlling influence of the Bureau:

> For several years the ex-slaves were under the almost absolute control of the Bureau. Whether this control had a good or bad effect is still disputed, the Southern whites and many Northerners holding that the results of the Bureau's work were bad; others that it was distinctly good. There is no doubt that while most of the higher officials of the Bureau were good men, the subordinate agents were generally without character or judgment and that their interference between the races caused lasting discord. Much necessary relief was done, especially among the whites, but demoralization was also caused by it, and later the institution was used by the agents as a means of securing negro votes. As to the Bureau's influence in educational and religious matters, North and South have not yet agreed. The whole field of labor and contracts was covered by the minute regulations of the Bureau which, good in theory, were impracticable, and which failed altogether, but not until labor had been disorganized for several years. The administration of justice by the Bureau gradually became a petty persecution of the whites and bloody conflicts sometimes resulted. The law creating the Bureau provided for the division of the confiscated property among the Negroes, and, though executed only in parts of Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia, caused

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[77] Freedmen's Bureau Reports, 1867-1870, as cited in Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 467.

> the negroes to believe that they were to be cared for at the expense of their former masters. This belief made them subject to swindling schemes perpetrated by persons who promised to secure lands for them. When negro suffrage was imposed by Congress upon the Southern states the Bureau aided the Union League in organizing the blacks into a political party opposed to the whites. Practically all the subordinate Bureau officials and several of the higher ones secured office through their control of the blacks.[78]

While the Freedmen's Bureau was in existence it aided the work of all Northern churches in the South. Among the denominations receiving direct contributions from the bureau were the Northern Methodists and the favors shown to the Church were of great advantage to it in pushing its program of reconstruction into the South. On many occasions during the years following the War, the Freedmen's Bureau frequently contributed two hundred dollars, and in many cases as much as five hundred dollars for the erection of Northern Methodist houses of worship in the Southern region. These gifts were made with the understanding that such buildings might be used for Freedmen's Bureau schools when needed for that purpose.[79] The bureau also made a large contribution to the educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South. In 1869 the Methodist educators expressed their appreciation for this aid from the Freedmen's Bureau, and lauded its activities in behalf of the freedmen. They said:

> The Bureau has been of incalculable benefit to the Freedmen. Without the protection and assistance it has furnished, emancipation would have been but a doubtful boon. It has aided this child nation in its struggles for manhood and intelligence, and

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[78] Fleming, W. L., Documentary History of Reconstruction, I, pp. 316-317.
[79] Matlack, L. C., "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the Southern States," in The Methodist Review (January, 1872), LX, 105.

> greatly encouraged the benevolent associations in their educational work. That brave officer and Christian philanthropist General O. O. Howard, has endeared himself to the friends of humanity everywhere, for the rare ability and deep devotion exhibited in the administration of this department of the Government. We take great pleasure in extending our grateful acknowledgments to him and his assistants for liberal appropriations in the erection and repairs of school houses, and numerous facilities afforded us in the prosecution of our school enterprise among the Freedmen.[80]

In 1870, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church stated in its report that "our Society has received valuable assistance from the Freedmen's Bureau, which has enabled it to aid a large number of teachers, erect and purchase several college edifices, greatly increasing our educational facilities." The Society expressed regret that no additional appropriations could be expected from the Government, and stated that it would have to retrench its operations unless the benevolent collections of the Church increased.[81] In 1872, the Methodist workers among the freedmen had felt the effects of the discontinuance of the Freedmen's Bureau. A number of teachers had to be withdrawn from the Southern schools and the educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church had to look to the benevolent spirit of its own members for support.[82] In 1875 the Methodist educators evaluated the work of the Freedmen's Bureau and expressed the opinion that it should have been continued. They said:

> Justly, the nation regarded the freedmen as its wards, and made provision for their necessities,

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[80] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, p. 12.
[81] Ibid., 1870, p. 14.
[82] Report of the F. A. S., 1870, p. 14.

> furnishing food and clothing for their bodies, teachers and books for their minds, thus adding luster to the act of emancipation by securing the necessary qualifications to improve and enjoy it. It can not be too deeply deplored that the clamor against the Freedmen's Bureau was allowed first to cripple, and then to destroy it, before it had accomplished the grand work in which it was engaged; but it lived long enough, in spite of the bitter warfare waged against it, or any mistakes made in its management, to vindicate the wisdom and foresight of its founders, and evidence the paternal regard of the National Government for its wards, as well as to inaugurate a system of schools, that has accomplished more than any other agency in the peaceful settlement of the great questions at issue in the South.
>
> In behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church, we tender grateful acknowledgments to the Government for the aid received in the erection of school buildings for the education of this emancipated people, regretting that we obtained so small a portion of the Bureau's apporpriations, while it was in operation, lamenting the winding up of its affairs, and the cutting off all aid in their behalf. The Freedmen's Bureau, in view of the good accomplished, and its adaptation to the necessities of this people, should have been continued longer. It might have been modified to meet more fully the exigences of all classes of citizens in the South; any mistakes made in the administration of its affairs might have been corrected, but, in some form or other, the Government should have continued its aid until this unfortunate people had gained strength and intelligence to bear the burdens and discharge the duties imposed upon them by emancipation.[83]

The Methodist Episcopal Church not only supported the Freedmen's Bureau's policy in the South, but many of its ministers served in official capacities with that government agency. The Reverend R. D. Harper served for a year or so as "Superintendent of Education" of the state of Alabama. The Reverend T. W. White was made "Superintendent of Education" in Blount County, Alabama, in 1870.[84] The Reverend Hiram R.

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[83] Ibid., 1875, p. 5.

[84] Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire Into the Condition of Affairs In the Late Insurrectionary States (Washington, 1872), IX, pp. 1207-1209.

Revels served for a time as an official in the Freedmen's Bureau in Mississippi.[85] The harmonious relations between the Freedmen's Bureau and the Churches of the North made it possible for ministers to secure such offices. This political activity of the Northern ministers brought opposition to the Church from the Southern people who were opposed to the Freedmen's Bureau. The Democratic minority of the Committee appointed by Congress in 1871 to investigate activities of the Ku Klux Klan emphasized the political coercion which had been attempted by the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and called attention to the fact that "many of the agents of the Bureau were preachers, and had been selected as being the most devout, zealous and loyal of that religious sect known as the Northern Methodist Church."[86]

The Freedmen's Bureau, although having other functions, was primarily servicable as an agency for the promotion of Negro education. During the five years of its existence, the Bureau contributed $6,513,955 to these schools set up for the education of the blacks.[87] It took hold of the schools already established by the benevolent aid societies of the North, built others, paid the salaries of many teachers, and cooperated with the Church and Northern societies in the educational work which they had started in the beginning years of the Civil War. By 1869, the Bureau had established a great system of elementary Negro schools in the South, with 2,500 teachers and 250,000 pupils.[88] In the five years of its operation it was instrumental in the initiation of 4,239 separate schools, and in the employment of 9,307 teachers.[89] Of the total sum expended by the Bureau in the South it is estimated that the benevolent societies in the North gave $1,500,000,[90] and the contributions of the freedmen from 1866 to 1870 amounted to close to a million dollars.[91] Although much had been done by the benevolent societies and the Bureau from 1861 to 1870, there was still much work to do towards the education of the colored people. In a letter to General Howard in 1870, J. W. Alvord reported the extent of education among the Negroes. He said: "It is painful to observe in many places . . . a large population and yet only an occasional school. . . . After all we have accomplished, only about one-seventh of the children of Freedmen, of school age, are as yet under instruction. Groups of these children are seen by the traveler gathered around railroad stations, idly in the way, or offering services not wanted; learning, from the low influences of such premises, only vice."[92]

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[85] Sweet, W. W., "Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, (March, 1915), I, p. 558.
[86] Testimony of Select Committee, I, 70.
[87] Munroe, Paul, (ed.) A Cyclopedia of Education, (New York, 1915), pp. 669-670.
[88] Boone, Richard G., Education in the United States, (New York, 1889), p. 352.

It is difficult to arrive at an accurate estimate of the results of the educational work of the Bureau. Although the reports of the Bureau seem to indicate a vast system of schools in the South, Fleming states: "There was a disposition on the part of the Bureau to claim all the schools possible in order to show large numbers. Many of these so-called schools were in reality only Sunday schools--that is, they were in session only on Sundays--(and the Missionary Sunday schools were counted), . . . The schools entirely under the control of the Bureau had small enrolment."[93]

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[89] Bond, H. M., The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (New York, 1934), p. 29.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Alvord, J. W., Condition of the Freedmen, p. 9. (A letter of Alvord to General O. O. Howard from Louisville, Ky., January 28, 1870).
[93] Fleming, W. L., Documents Relating to Reconstruction (Morgantown, W. Va. 1904), No. 6, p. 5.

An estimate of the education of the Negro in this period of reconstruction was given in 1890 by Dr. J. L. M. Curry, a Southern man who was noted for his interest and activity in behalf of the Negro race, and who was for twelve years the executive agent of the John F. Slater Fund. This close connection with the needs and conditions among the Negroes of the South would seem to lead him to an unbiased opinion of this subject. He said:

> The progress made by the Negroes in education, considering their environments, their heredity, the abominable soundrels who have come here from other quarters to seduce and lead them astray, is marvelous. . . . It is not just to condemn the Negro for the education which he received in the early years after the War. That was the period of reconstruction, the saturnalia of mis-governments, the greatest possible hindrance to the progress of the freedmen, an immitigable curse, the malignant attempt to use the Negro voter as a pawn in the corrupt game of manufacturing members of Congress. The education was unsettling, demoralizing, pandered to a wild frenzy for schooling as a quick method of reversing social and political conditions. Nothing could have been better devised for deluding the poor Negro, and making him the tool, the slave of corrupt taskmasters. Education is a natural consequence of citizenship and enfranchisement, I should say, of freedom and humanity. But with deliberate purpose to subject the Southern States to Negro domination, and secure the states permenantly for partisan ends, the education adopted was contrary to common sense, to human experience, to all noble purposes. The curriculum was for a people in the highest degree of civilization; the aptitude and capabilities and needs of the Negro were wholly disregarded. Especial stress was laid on classics and liberal culture to bring the race *per saltum* to the same plane with their former masters, and realize the theory of social and political equality. A race more highly civilized, with best heredities and environments, could not have been coddled with more disregard of all the teaching of human history and the necessities of the race. Colleges and universities, established and conducted by the Freedmen's Bureau and northern churches and societies, sprang up like mushrooms, and the teachers, ignorant, fanatical, without self-poise, proceded to make all

> possible mischief. It is irrational, cruel to hold the Negro, under such strange conditions, responsible for all the ill consequences of bad education, unwise teachers, reconstruction villanies, and partisan schemes. To educate at all, slowly, was a gigantic task.[94]

The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church had its origin in the anti-slavery sentiment of that Church, which caused the separation of the body in 1844. During the Civil War the Methodists of the North had given expression to their interest in the welfare of the Southern Negro through the undenominational commissions and associations, toward which work they contributed generously. The organization of the Society was not the result of a plan projected by the Church, but a direct growth from the charity that commanded the sympathies of Christian people, and it eventually took form in a conviction, shared by the leading denominations in the North, that among the Freedmen was opened a most promising mission-field for the Church.

When Bishop Clark was intrusted with the mission of establishing the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South, he found that it was necessary to have teachers and schools to assist the missionaries in setting up the organization among the freedmen. Although the Methodists held official positions in the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, and had guided the destiny of that organization from its very beginning, it had become difficult to obtain teachers from the Commission for denominational activities in the South. In arranging the work and distributing the teachers among the freedmen, the Commission declined to furnish teachers connected with the Methodist missions in the South lest it should violate its constitution and become denominational in character. The Methodists remonstrated against this apparent discrimination, and it led to a protracted discussion of the future policy of the Commission, during which time reflections were cast upon the Methodist Episcopal Church.[95] This incident hastened the organization of the Methodist society for the education of the Freedmen. Dr. R. S. Rust declared before the Boston Preacher's Meeting on December 31, 1866: "As we could not obtain a single teacher from the undenominational Society, to whose funds we had contributed more than all others . . . it was deemed expedient to form the Methodist Freedmen's Aid Society."[96]

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[94] "Race Problems of the South." Proceedings of the First Annual Conference at Montgomery, 1900. (Richmond, 1900), p. 108. (Address of Dr. J. L. M. Curry.)

The idea of forming a distinct denominational agency was also stimulated by similar action on the part of other Northern Churches. The existence of denominational societies resulted in part from a want of unity in the undenominational movement, both as to policy and organization. The Commissions in the West, as a rule, employed members of evangelical Churches as teachers, but the Commissions in the East did not make Church membership a necessary qualification for any position in their work. The importance of having a National society was early felt by the leaders in the movement, but it could not be established; steps were taken in 1863 to secure a union, but it was not consummated until 1866, by which time the number of undenominational societies had doubled, and every prominent religious body, except the New School Presbyterians and the Methodist Episcopal Churches, had adopted special plans.[97] The Friends entered the work among freedmen as a separate organization, the United Presbyterians in Ohio organized a denominational organization in 1863, and in the same year the Reformed Presbyterians, United Brethren, and one branch of the Baptists did likewise. In 1864 the Old School Presbyterians undertook the work for missionary purposes. In 1865 the Congregationalists, through the National Convention, working through the American Missionary Association, began their specific Church work. In the same year the Protestant Episcopal Church, at its Convention in Philadelphia, organized a Freedmen's Aid Society. In 1865 the Baptists appealed to their churches to raise one hundred thousand dollars, to begin their denominational work among the Negroes.[98]

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[95] Rust, Richard S., Isaac W. Wiley, Late Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Cincinnati, 1885), p. 120.
[96] Zion's Herald, January 9, 1867.
[97] Report of the F. A. S., 1868, pp. 5-6.

After much consultation between the bishops of the Church, the Corresponding Secretary of the National Freedmen's Commission, the editors of the Ladies' Repository and the Western Christian Advocate, the Agents of the Methodist Book Concern, and the Corresponding Secretary of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, it was decided that the time had come to form a society under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church to supplement the mission work among the freedmen.

A call was issued on July 30, 1866 inviting those connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church who were interested in the education of the freedmen to meet at the Trinity Methodist Church in Cincinnati. The call for the Convention stated the reasons for such action, and reads as follows:

> Cincinnati, Ohio, July 30, 1866.
>
> Dear Brother,- The undersigned request a meeting of a few leading ministers and laymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the West, to confer in regard to the relation of our Church to the work of relief and education in behalf of the Freedmen. We have been associated with

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[98] Hartzell, J. C., (ed.) Christian Educators in Council, p. 178.

> the Western and Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commissions. The official positions assigned us by them have made us the representatives of our Church in these catholic Societies; and, so long as they had hearty co-operation of the leading religious denomination, or even a majority of them, we felt that our position could but have the approval of our brethren, and that the best interests of the Freedmen and the country would be subserved by the members of our Church making these Commissions the almoners of their contributions for the benefit of the Freedmen.
>
> Now we look to our brethren for counsel. For more than a year there has been a strong tendency toward denominational movements. One sect after another has withdrawn from the Commissions, and organized within itself, till they can rely on the general co-operation of scarcely more than one leading denomination besides our own. On the other hand, demands for teachers and schools in connection with the mission-work of our Church in the South have been constantly increasing, with no adequate provisions to meet them. In view of these and other facts, we feel that the time has come when the matter should have the careful and prayerful consideration of those whose judgment upon it would have great influence with the Church.
>
> If deemed best to continue our co-operation with the existing Commissions, the cause demands that the whole strength of our Church be secured to it. If a society to co-operate with our Missionary and Church Extension Societies seems to be required, it should be organized without delay. A decision should be reached at once, that the timely approval of the Fall Conferences in the West may be secured.
>
> We therefore join in requesting you to attend a meeting for the purpose named, to be held in Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, Cincinnati, O., on Tuesday, August 7th. at 2 o'clock P. M. We believe that the importance of the interests involved will secure your attendance, if possible for you to come.
>
> Adam Poe, T. M. Eddy,
> J. F. Larkin, Grant Goodrich,
> I. W. Wiley, R. M. Hatfield,
> J. M. Reid, J. M. Walden. 99
> R. S. Rust,

In pursuance with the call, a Convention of ministers and laymen met in the Trinity Methodist Church on August 7, 1866, and conferred in

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99 Organization Convention (Official Report), pp. 3-4.

regard to the work of education and relief among the Freedmen. The following persons were present, viz.: Bishop D. W. Clark, Reverends Adam Poe, J. M. Reid, R. S. Rust, J. M. Walden, J. R. Stillwell, and Mr. J. F. Larkin of Cincinnati, Ohio; Reverend Luke Hitchcock and Honorable Grant Goodrich, of Chicago, Illinois; Reverend B. F. Crary, of St. Louis, Missouri; and Reverend Robert Allyn, of Lebanon, Illinois. Bishop Clark was chosen as chairman of the Convention, and Reverend J. M. Walden as secretary.[100] Unable to attend the Convention, Bishop Morris wrote: ". . . one thing is clear to my mind--that is, if we, as a Church, do not meet our own responsibility, no one will meet it for us. May the Lord favor us with prudent measures and successful results."[101] A letter from the Reverend Dr. F. C. Holliday was read containing the following paragraph:

> It is not convenient for me to attend, butmy opinion is that it will be much better for us to operate through our own organization, and avoid all entangling alliances. Be responsibile for our own work, and let others be responsible for theirs. That such must ultimately be the condition of things is generally admitted. That the time has come to shape our action in that direction, I believe.[102]

A letter from General Clinton B. Fisk favored the proposed Society. He said:

> It has been my settled conviction for many months that the Methodist Episcopal Church should conduct her own work among the Freedmen, and that the strength of our whole Church be secured throughout our own organization. Our Missionary Society is already doing much. Let us once put all our strength together, co-operating with

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[100] Ibid., p. 3.
[101] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

> the Missionary and Church Extension Societies, and we shall be a power in this Southern country.[103]

At the meeting of the Methodist ministers and laymen, Dr. John M. Walden made a statement to the group concerning the future policy of the Church in regard to the work among the freedmen. He pointed out that the Methodists had been cooperating with the various Commissions in the relief and education of the freedmen, that the work had prospered in the West, resulting in the planting of schools at the more important points in the Mississippi Valley, and that in the past year the Commissions in the West "maintained in these schools, . . . an average, at least, of one hundred teachers, mostly Christian men and women, opened Sunday schools, relieved the poor, cared for the orphan."[104] He then raised the question of what had "suggested the propriety, or indicate the necessity, of organizing a Society that shall be Methodistic in its character?" He answered the question, stating that the following considerations, among others, had suggested such a movement to those who had given attention to the question:

> 1. The organization of denominational societies by other branches of the Christian Church . . . leaving the New School Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal Churches the only denominations of any size which have continued their co-operation, without diversion, with the Commissions.
> 2. These denominational societies are co-operating with and strengthening the missionary efforts of their respective Churches, by sustaining schools at those points where their missionaries are laboring; hence the question comes up whether the contributions of Methodists might not, and ought not to, be made to aid our mission-work in the same way among the Freedmen.

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[103] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[104] *Organization Convention* (Official Report), p. 5.

> 3. A large per cent of the home collections come from the Methodist Churches and people. During the past year about $100,000 in cash have been collected in the West--between $69,000 and $70,000 at Chicago, between $13,000 and $14,000 at Cincinnati, and the balance of the sum named at Indianapolis, Detroit, and Cleveland. . . . I think I am safe in saying that not less than fifty per cent of the whole amount has come from the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This ratio must increase, as Churches open to the agents of the Commissions during a part of the past year are now being closed, especially the Congregationalists and Baptists.
> 4. The funds thus contributed are expended by undenominational societies. While other denominations have organized their own societies, or selected their special denominational agencies, they are as largely represented among the officers and directors of the Commissions as before they made these sectarian movements. The catholic Commissions can not favor any Church movements without compromising their position, and thereby exciting the feelings they would allay; and hence the Methodist Mission Schools are languishing, though a small per cent of what our Church has given to the Commissions would have fully sustained them.
>
> These are the leading facts which have led to the call of this Convention, and forced upon us the question: Shall we organize a Methodist Freedmen's Aid Society, or shall we co-operate with the existing Commissions?[105]

After stating these considerations, which had suggested the propriety of organizing a Methodist Freedmen's Aid Society, Dr. Walden expressed the opinion that if after considering all the facts the Methodist Convention deemed it best to continue their co-operation with the American Freedmen's Union Commission and its branches, the meeting, at least, would serve a good purpose in doing much to make that co-operation general and hearty, as the facts he had mentioned had "diminished the zeal of our people in the cause as now carried forward."[106] He then continued with a statement mentioning some of the possible results of the organization of a Freedmen's Aid Society within the Methodist Episcopal Church. These results are as follows:

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[105] Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[106] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

> 1. The schools organized would be supplied with Methodist teachers, and might be under the local supervision of our missionaries, thereby securing to them a religious character congenial to the habits and feelings of the colored people.
> 2. It would give our missionary work a greater favor with the Freedmen. There has been a strange quickening of the mind of that race, and the Church which aids them most in the matter of education will gain the greatest influence over them. There will be more or less distress among the Freedmen, and to relieve this will tend in the same direction.
> 3. It would further strengthen our mission-work by furnishing Sunday-school teachers, and increase the efficiency of the Sunday-schools by making them a part of a Church movement.
> 4. At a moderate estimate it should secure fifty thousand dollars, to be applied to these schools in connection with our mission-work. This would support one hundred teachers nine months in the year; each teacher would have an average attendance of fifty scholars (5,000). And if these began in the alphabet, they would learn to read during the single session.
> 5. At any points the Freedmen might aid in supporting schools. Tuition in the schools of the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission average about eighty dollars per month this year; the next will probably be better. At some places the Freedmen will become responsible for the teachers board.
> 6. Under the new Freedmen's Bureau Bill the Government is to provide every Society with school-houses for all the teachers they will support.
> 7. A Methodist Freedmen's Aid Society would give our Church a more direct, and hence a greater, interest in the education of the Freedmen, and consequently increase the zeal in the mission-work in their behalf.
> 8. If there should arise a necessity for ecclesiastical legislation in regard to this work, the experience acquired within the time intervening between this and the next session of the General Conference would be of great service in shaping such legislation.
>
> In all these ways it will aid the Church in meeting those responsibilities which are indicated on the one hand by the predilection of so large a proportion of the colored people in her favor, and on the other hand by the efficiency which has been vouchsafed to her as a missionary Church.[106]

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[106] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

Following the presentation of these statements by Dr. Walden other members of the Convention expressed their opinions concerning the anticipated denominational action. Dr. Rust called special attention to the fact that after a long time the National Commission of Freedmen's societies had just been launched, and expressed fear that any denominational action by the Methodists might tend towards breaking up that Commission, and ruining the hopes of that body in introducing a great Free-School System throughout the South. Dr. Adam Poe favored the organization of a Methodist Society, and stated that he could retain his position as president of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, if the best interests of the Freedmen's cause should require it, and aid both Societies. As the members of other denominations had retained their places with the Commissions, Dr. Poe felt that it would be consistent for him to do likewise. The Reverend J. R. Stillwell, Collecting Agent for the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, thought it doubtful whether the undenominational Commissions could sustain themselves should the patronage of the Methodist Church be withdrawn, and in that event the money contributed by the smaller denominations to these Commissions would be lost to the movement for the education of the Freedmen. In reply to an inquiry, Stillwell stated that about seventy-five per cent of the collections came from Methodist people and Methodist congregations. Letters from other agents of the Commissions bore out Stillwell's contention. A letter from Chaplain J. R. Locke reported that two-thirds of his collections were from Methodist congregations. The Reverend J. L. Gibson reported that two-thirds of his collections came from the same source. Similar statements from other agents indicated that during the past year more than one-half of the contributions in the West came from the Methodist Episcopal Church.[107] Other members of the convention took part in the discussion of the facts brought before the Convention, and concurred in the opinion that the Church should organize a denominational society for the purpose of educating the Negroes of the South. When Bishop Clark made a statement as to the wants of the mission work in his department, and pointed out the advantage of having schools connected with the missions among the Freedmen, Dr. Walden offered the following resolution:

> Resolved, That the time has come for the organization of a Society for the relief and education of the Freedmen and people of color in general, to co-operate with the Missionary and Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[108]

The Convention adopted the resolution by a unanimous vote, and made plans for presenting the claims of the Freedmen's Aid Society at the Fall Conferences. On motion, a committee consisting of Dr. Walden, Judge Goodrich, Dr. Crary, Dr. Hitchcock, and Dr. Rust was appointed to report a plan of organization and prepare a draft of a Constitution.[108] An address to the Church was also prepared by the Committee stating the reasons for the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society and informed it that no other society in the Church met the special educational want of the Freedmen of the South. In view of the fact that the Eastern members of the Church had not been well represented a resolution was prepared inviting their attention to the organization of the Society, and urging them to take such steps "as shall secure the harmonious co-

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107 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
108 Ibid., p. 10.

operation of our entire Church."[109] The Committee also urged every Annual Conference in the Church to organize an auxiliary society.*

The Convention elected the following officers to serve the new Society: President, Bishop D. W. Clark; Vice-Presidents, Major-General Clinton B. Fisk, Hon. Grant Goodrich, Reverend I. W. Wiley, D. D.; Treasurer, Reverend Adam Poe, D. D.; Corresponding Secretary, Reverend J. M. Walden, D. D.; General Field Superintendent, Reverend R. S. Rust, D. D.; Recording Secretary, Reverend J. M. Reid, D. D.[110]

Thus the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized and the strictly denominational work of this Christian organization begun. The Methodist Church was especially fitted for such an educational program. In referring to the ability of the Methodist Church to carry on such an educational program, a Presbyterian writer of that time said:

> Among the leading denominations in our country there is one whose educational schemes are projected on a scheme truly magnificent. I refer to the Methodist Episcopal Church. . . . It is a system in the emphatic sense of the word. There is no jangling, no opposition of views, no contrariety of action. From bishop to class-leader, and from class-leader to the humblest probationers, there is but one sentiment with regard to the importance of denominational education. . . . When they conclude to establish a school or college, it may be said to be as good as done. The right kind of machinery is set in motion. Agents are at once put in commission and sent forth into every nook and corner of the land. No stone is left unturned where there may be hope of finding a dollar, or even a dime. Every preacher and every member puts shoulder to the wheel. They push together and they pull together; and the result of united action is seen in the speedy accomplishment of the work.[111]

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[109] Ibid., p. 15.

* Ibid., p. 14.

[110] Ibid., p. 14.

[111] Christian Advocate and Journal, March 10, 1864, quoting a writer in the Presbyterian.

Whether this statement is true or not, the power of the Methodist Church was placed directly behind the new Society organized for the education of the Negro race. On November 8, 1866 a message to the Church was issued by the Board of Bishops in session in New York City. The statement clearly indicates the conception of the responsibility of the Methodist Church which the emancipation of the Negro had created, and reveals the fervid zeal and high purpose which animated that organization relative to its duty towards the Negro race. The Bishops said:

> Dear Brethren:- The emancipation of four millions of slaves has opened at our very door a wise field calling alike for mission and educational work. It has devolved upon the Church a fearful responsibility. Religion and education alone can make freedom a blessing to them. The school must be planted by the side of the Church; the teacher must go along with the missionary. In no other way can our work reach its highest success among the Freedmen of the South. They claim this culture as immortal beings, at our hands. Without it their true position as members of society can never be attained. It is needful that they may sustain proper domestic relations among themselves, and that their children may be saved from the blighting effects entailed by the system of slavery. It is indispensible to the highest and most permanent success of our mission work among them. And then, too, a consideration of vital importance to the Christian world is the fact that from among themselves the ministers are to be raised up who shall conserve, carry forward, and make permanent the work of Christianizing and educating the race.
>
> The time may come when the States in the South will make some provision for the education of the colored children now growing up in utter ignorance in their midst. But thus far they have made none, nor perhaps can it soon be expected of them. Christian philanthropy must supply this lack. While other Churches, North and South, are entering this broad field, we have our own work and our own duty to perform. We cannot turn away from the appeal that comes home to our consciences and hearts. Nor can we delay. The emergency is upon us and we must begin the work now.
>
> As a suitable channel through which the benefactions of our Church to this object may best reach their design, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal

> Church has been organized. It is designed to cooperate with our missionary work in the South, and, in fact, to supplement that work. There are openings for hundreds of teachers at this moment. Hundreds of teachers are ready to go. The means to send them are only wanting.
>
> In view of the great emergency of the case, and the certainty that the benefactions of our people can better reach their end through our own channels than through any other, we commend to you the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. And especially would we urge upon all pastors and congregations, in view of the present great and pressing wants, to make for this object a collection as soon as practicable.
>
> We also recommend that the Churches in the East contribute with special reference to the establishment of schools in the Southern States bordering upon the Atlantic, and that the Churches in the West direct their efforts especially to the states lying south of them in the great Mississippi Valley. We further recommend to the Executive Committee of the Freedmen's Aid Society, to distribute the schools established by them in the South, so as to cover the whole territory of the South as far as practicable, so that the fruits of this blessed work may be most widely diffused.
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> Done by order of the Board of Bishops, at New York City, November 8, 1866.[112]

Following the addresses of the Organization Committee of the Freedmen's Aid Society and the bishops of the Church, the Methodist Annual Conferences approved the Society and it was placed upon the lists of the annual contributions. Auxiliary societies were formed in the various Conferences as soon as possible. In 1866, the Cincinnati Annual Conference resolved to organize a society, auxiliary to the Freedmen's Aid Society.[113] In the same year, similar organizations were formed in the North-West Indiana Conference,[114] the Detroit Conference,* and the Southern Illinois Conference.[115] The Tennessee Conference pledged its support to the Society in 1866, and resolved to cooperate in the work of elevating the Freedmen.[116] The Kansas Annual Conference set up an auxiliary society in 1867,[117] and the New Jersey Conference organized a society in the same year.[118] In 1867 the New York East Conference pledged its support to the new Freedmen's Aid Society and adopted a resolution to take a collection in all its congregations to aid the educational program among the Freedmen.[119] Other Conferences in the Methodist Episcopal Church followed the example of these who pledged early support, and in a short time the entire Church was lined up behind the program of Negro education.

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[112] Report of the F. A. S., 1867, p. 4.

[113] Minutes of the Cincinnati Annual Conference of the M. E. Church, 1866, p. 40.

[114] Minutes of the North-West Indiana Conference of the M. E. Church, 1866, p. 35.

* Minutes of the Detroit Annual Conference of the M. E. Church, 1866, p. 43.

In making plans for the raising of money in the churches, it was found necessary to appoint a number of collecting agents for the Freedmen's Aid Society. The pastors were burdened with the collections required by the General Conference, and agents of the undenominational commissions were still reaching the Methodist congregations and taking collections for these organizations. Therefore, the appointment of agents to canvass the field for the new Society became imperative, and they were sent into the field to secure funds, one-third of which they were permitted to retain as a fee.[120]

The newly created Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church began with a "good constitution and $1,500 of borrowed money."[121]

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[115] Minutes of the Southern Illinois Conference of the M.E. Church, 1866, p.41.
[116] Western Christian Advocate, November 14, 1866.
[117] Minutes of the Kansas Annual Conference of the M.E.Church, 1867, p. 26.
[118] Minutes of the New Jersey Annual Conference of the M. E. Church, 1867, p. 24.
[119] Annual Minutes of the New York East Conference of the M. E. Church, 1867, p. 32.
[120] Report of the F. A. S., 1868, p. 9.
[121] Quadrennial Report of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society to the General Conference, May, 1900, p. 7.

and in October 1866 commenced its educational work among the Negroes of the South.[122] Early in the same month, Dr. Walden sent a statement to the periodicals of the Church requesting those who wanted to enlist in the enterprise among the Negroes to submit their applications at once. He wrote:

> Persons who desire to labor as teachers among the freedmen under the auspices of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, should make application at an early date. The call for teachers is coming from the South almost daily. At least forty can be advantageously employed, very soon, in the Mission Department that comprises Tennessee and portions of adjoining states; others will be needed in the Mission work still further South. The success of the efforts of our Church among the freedmen will depend in large measure upon the promptness with which these openings for the organization of schools, are occupied; the new society purposes to undertake the work and trust in God and the Church for the means to prosecute it.
> Teachers of experience are preferred for these schools. Only persons who can give evidence of qualifications which will render them efficient as teachers will be appointed. The work will be arduous and attended with privations and difficulties--hence only such as have health and strength to endure these things should apply. Especially are those desired as teachers who are prompted to labor among the freedmen by conviction of duty. Applications should be accompanied with testimonials of Christian character, and where the party has taught with certificate of standing as a teacher.[123]

Although teachers "leaped forward to aid in this transformation,"[124] and the Executive Committee of the Society decided to increase the work as rapidly as the liberality of the friends of the enterprise would allow, the officers of the organization were able to respond to only a small proportion of the applications for teachers from the Southern field.[125]

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[122] *Report of the F. A. S.*, 1869, p. 3.
[123] *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, October 3, 1866.
[124] Braden, , John, "Educational Work among the Freedmen by the Methodist Episcopal Church," in Hartzell, J. C., (ed.) *Christian Educators in Council*, p.1
[125] *Report of the F. A. S.*, 1868, p. 16.

The policy of the Society, during the first two years of its existence, was to place the schools at the centers of Northern influence; in localities where the Freedmen would cooperate most cheerfully and furnish the largest contributions for their support; in towns containing the largest ignorant and degraded populations; where the Freedmen's Bureau would most liberally aid them; but especially in connection with the missions of the Church, where the teachers of the Society could supplement the work of the missionary.[126]

During the first year the Society established schools in Winchester, Virginia; Lewisburg, West Virginia; Smithland, Kentucky; Nashville, Memphis, Murfreesboro, Spring Hill, Lebanon, Alexandris, Franklin, and the National Cemetery, Tennessee; LaGrange, Newnan, Griffin, Oxford, Jonesboro, Palmetto, Grantville, and Hogansville, Georgia; Huntsville, Alabama; Vicksburg, Mississippi; New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Thibodeaux, Franklin, and Jefferson City, Louisiana.[127] These schools were all elementary schools, and necessarily so, due to the fact that practically none of the Freedmen were advanced far enough in educational matters to warrant the establishment of schools of higher learning. In 1868, the Freedmen's Aid Society had established fifty-nine schools, located in the following places: Tennessee, eleven; Georgia, eleven; Alabama, four; Kentucky, three; Louisiana, nine; Mississippi, one; Arkansas, one; Virginia, three; South Carolina, eight; and North Carolina, two.[128] The Society employed fifty-two teachers in the schools during the first year of its efforts in the South, and the number in 1868 had increased to seventy-two. Five thousand Negro students were enrolled the first year, and by the end of the second year seven thousand had received the beginnings of an education under the auspices of an organization established largely by the faith of the few Methodist ministers and laymen.[129]

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[126] Report of the F. A. S., 1868, p. 9.
[127] Ibid., pp. 9-10.
[128] Ibid., p. 10.

Although the Methodists had made a substantial beginning toward the education of the Southern Negro, they were compelled in 1868 to refuse many applications for schools in the South. "To refuse these applications," the officials announced, "has been the most painful duty connected with the administration of affairs of the Society. But it was our only alternative. To have incurred a heavy debt would have involved the Society in irretrievable ruin."[130] During the first year the salary and board of nearly all the teachers had to be paid by the Society, but by the end of the second year only one-half of them drew their full support from the treasury of the organization owing to the fact that the Freedmen themselves contributed to their support and financial assistance from the Freedmen's Bureau afforded help in the prosecution of the work.[131]

Looking backward at the results accomplished in the first few months of this experiment, the leaders of the movement announced that "it is a gratifying fact, and one that indicates the missionary character of our enterprise, that nearly a score of our teachers are ministers of the Gospel, who have been drawn to this field of labor because it furnishes such rare facilities for doing good both to the bodies and the souls of men."[132] These minister-teachers taught school during the week and preached on the Sabbath, thus carrying out in practice the theory of the Church that education and religion was needed for the elevation of the former slave. All the teachers of the Society, for that matter, labored in the Sunday schools as well as in the week-day schools, thus "preparing the thousands of ignorant and degraded children for usefulness on earth and happiness in heaven."[133] The teachers had been selected by the Society with care, the great majority of them having been "drawn to this work by love to Jesus and fallen humanity." The report of 1868, stated that "the school-house, occupied as a meeting-house for religious worship as it usually is by our missionaries, and also by our teachers for Sunday school and the instruction of the children during the week, becomes to the South, as elsewhere, the true symbol of a high Christian civilization. These humble buildings in which the children are taught, are scarcely less the temples of the living God than the temples of science--for in them immortals pass into a higher spiritual as well as intellectual life."[134]

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[129] Ibid., p. 10 (A full treatment of the development of the schools is given in Chapter IV.)
[130] Report of the F. A. S., 1868, p. 10.
[131] Ibid., pp. 10-11.
[132] Ibid., p. 11.

The close connection between the educational and the mission work in the South during this early period of Methodist activity, is revealed in one of the early reports of the Freedmen's Aid Society. The report stated:

> Our missionaries acknowledge their indebtedness to our teachers for valuable assistance, and assure us that in them they find their most efficient aid in gaining access to the hearts of the people, and in building up the cause of Christ. Missionaries and teachers unitedly cultivate this vast field, and harvest sheaves for the garner of the Lord. And though our work is an educational one, it is closely allied to missions, aiming as it does at the culture of the heart as well as the intellect. It seeks to complete the symmetrical development of all the faculties with which God has endowed our common humanity. It strives to lead the youth to Christ as well as to the fountains of intelligence, and we are profoundly thankful to God for the success that

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[133] Ibid., p. 11.
[134] Report of the F. A. S., 1868, p. 11.

> has crowned our teachers' efforts, and made them scarcely less efficient in teaching the doctrines of the Cross than the elements of science.[135]

The teachers of the Society went into the South with somewhat the same purpose as the missionaries of the Church, that is, to aid in the reconstruction of that region. As early as 1868, the schools were reported as rendering "essential aid in the work of restoring social order, of bringing about friendly relations between the employers and laborers, in promoting habits of cleanliness, industry, economy, purity, and morality, rendering more emphatic the grand distinction between right and wrong, falsehood and truth, enforcing fidelity to contracts, portraying the terrible consequences of intemperance, licentiousness, profanity, lying, and stealing, teaching them to respect the rights of others, while they are prompt to claim protection for themselves."[136] The teachers attempted to furnish the Freedmen with such knowledge as they needed to adjust themselves to their new position of freedom, and offer counsel in the practical matters of life. The schools, according to the report of the Society in 1868, were meeting a want in the South which no military or political organization could supply, and without which it would be impossible to restore peace and harmony in that land. The teachers were considered as "pioneers in the work of reconstruction," and said to be "laying a foundation upon which the most enduring superstructure can be reared."[137]

In seventeen months from the time of the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society, $58,477.69 had been expended in the support of Negro

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135 Ibid., p. 11.
136 Report of the F. A. S., 1868, p. 12.
137 Ibid.

schools in the South.[138] Because of the Centenary movement throughout the Church in 1866, the work of the Society was practically held in abeyance from the time of its organization in August, 1866, until January 1867. The financial standing of the Society was also hampered by the monetary condition of the country in general, which depressed all activities and effected the contributions to all benevolent objects. Nevertheless, the expenditure of nearly sixty thousand dollars in this short period revealed the fact that the Methodist Episcopal Church was in sympathy with the movement for the education of a people in whom she had been interested since its organization in America.

The reasons for the movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church toward the education of the Negro are varied. An examination of the literature concerned with this movement will reveal that the Methodists of the North considered this enterprise chiefly as a religious duty to the Negro race. In 1864, Dr. Edward Thomson declared that the Negro had been emancipated and his emancipation would devolve upon the Churches of the United States the "important duty of educating, elevating, and Christianizing the freedmen; preparing them to act well their part in civil society and in the Church of God." Because the Methodist Church was "by far the most wealthy and numerous, Dr. Thomson expressed the opinion that it should bear a conspicuous part and be most forward in the work.[139] Bishop Wiley, in 1870, stated that as the slaves of the South had been given their freedom, the Methodist Episcopal Church could go into that region to teach them to read the word of God, to preach to them, and elevate them. He further stated that it was not the General Conference, preachers, bishops, Missionary Board, nor Annual Conferences who had made this enterprise possible, but God. "Who has done it?" he asked. "The great God, he it is that has done it!"[140] Dr. J. M. Reid said in an address at the anniversary of the Freedmen's Aid Society at Chicago, in 1870:

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[138] Report of the F. A. S., 1868, p. 8.

[139] Christian Advocate and Journal, April 14, 1864.

> Turning thus to the attributes of the great Jehovah, looking the Almighty in the face, we see him pointing his finger at this work in aid of the Freedmen, and bidding us do it. We can almost hear him say, You cast him down and must lift him up; you kept him in ignorance, now you must teach him; by you he was imbruted, and by you he must be humanized. Do it gladly, and you shall have your Heavenly Father's benediction, but do it you must, though it be at the end of a Father's rod. I confess that I tremble for my countrymen that they are so slow to discern this truth.[141]

To those in the North who had objected to the education of the Freedmen on the grounds that the scheme was impractical, Dr. S. M. Merrill declared that the Society contemplated the Negroes as men, "and proposes to do for them as *fellowmen*, having our sympathies, and allied to our race by the common ties of humanity and bought by the blood of our Savior Jesus Christ. In a word, it proposes to work *for* them, and *with* them, in obedience to the command of God, and to do for them just what Christianity requires, and to do it in the name of Christ. All its aims lies within the range of Christian duty, and harmonizes with the most enlightened Christian sentiment."[142] Bishop W. F. Mallalieu clearly pointed out to the Methodist Church its religious duty toward the Negro race, in an address before the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1873. He said:

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[140] *Report of the F. A. S.*, 1870, pp. 30-32.
[141] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[142] *Report of the F. A. S.*, 1872, p. 36.

> If ever God laid a special burden and responsibility upon any Church, he has upon our own in regard to the freedmen. They look to us as their natural friends and allies; they follow in our foot-steps; they cling to us with a fervent affection that knows no change. . . . The call of God to the Methodist Church today is to pour out of its wealth upon these institutions of learning; settle, strengthen, and establish these focal points of power; and then, as we love God and our country, we ought to double the number--ay, multiply it, until we have occupied every central point in the entire South. Doing less than this, and we shall fail . . . of doing our duty to the freedmen. Doing less than this, and we shall place ourselves with the priest and Levite who left the wounded man, their neighbor and brother, to die . . . Where are the individuals of wealth? Where are the Churches, whether rich or poor, that dare turn away from these unredeemed, though feeble, children of the Divine Father, and say they must take care of themselves? God forbid that such heartlessness should anywhere be found![143]

On another occasion, one of the leaders in the educational movement in the South stated that "God has placed the power in our hands to do this work, and we dare not prove recreant to our high trust. . . . As the Savior came down to us, and lived and died for us, that we might be raised in glory with him, so must we labor for these needy ones, in his spirit; and with his blessing, we can not fail."[144] "God has placed these freedmen in our midst," declared another Methodist, "blessing them, we please him; providing for them we honor God."[145] Bishop Gilbert Haven told the Methodists of the North that "not sanctification raptures in Northern camp-grounds and Churches, but devotion to these Christ's children, in captivity and contumely, is to be the real test in that day of the Christ-like condition of the believer."[146] Much of the literature

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143 *Ibid.*, 1873, p. 44.
144 *Ibid.*, 1872, p. 40.
145 *Ibid.*, 1874, p. 15.
146 *Ibid.*, 1875, p. 23.

of the Methodist Episcopal Church from 1866 to the end of the century gave full expression to the duty of the Church toward the Negroes of the South, and the religious motive was the cap-stone of it all.

The Methodists of the North also felt that they were involved in the guilt of the institution of slavery, and that having been connected with the events which brought the Negro to this country, that, in itself, was further cause for the responsibility of the Church in elevating and educating the race. Dr. Richard S. Rust, the Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, declared in 1883: "The Negro came to America by compulsion. We fitted out vessels to bring them over, and New England is steeped to the lips in guilt by her participation in bringing Negroes to this country and selling them in perpetual bondage."[147] In pointing out that this guilty feeling on the part of the North found expression in the emancipation of the Negro, Rust stated: "Why emancipate them? Why break up the relations of the slave-trade? Why annihilate the system of slavery, unless you mean to educate them? . . . Better not to have begun than not to finish up this work by education. Nothing short of this will meet the demands of the age and the approval of God."[148] Toward the end of the century, Reverend Washington Gardner of Cincinnati, stated that the Methodist Episcopal Church shared with the South the guilt of slavery, and therefore should hasten in the work of education among the Negroes as partial payment for their toil and redress for their wrongs. He informed the Freedmen's Aid Society that:

> Both the North and South watched with parental solicitude by the cradle that rocked that most inhuman institution,

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[147] Hartzell, J. C., Christian Educators in Council, p. 55.
[148] Loc. cit.

> that abnormal product, that monstrosity of Christian civilization, human slavery. Not only did many shiploads of slaves land at Boston and New York in Colonial days, not only did every one of the original States allow property rights to inhere in human beings, but within the memory of most now living, the North helped the South to perpetuate the Negro in bondage by the enactment and enforcement of laws having that object in view. The North was not only particeps criminis with the South in originating and perpetuating slavery on this continent, but it shared directly and indirectly in the profit that inured to the nation from the sweat of the black man's face and from the fruit of the black man's loins.[149]

The Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society for the year 1871 gave further testimony to the strong claim which the Negroes had upon the Church for its participation in the wrongs and sufferings of the colored race. The report announced:

> They have for centuries been wronged by us; stolen from their homes, sold in the shambles like cattle, degraded by slavery, their earnings wrested from them, the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, trampled in the dust, their souls shut up in ignorance, and every thing dear to their hearts and their homes ruthlessly crushed. We have participated in these flagrant crimes, and we are involved in this terrible guilt. . . . Let us atone for our sins, as much as possible, by furnishing schools and the means of improvement for the children, upon whose parents we have inflicted such fearful evils. Let us lend a helping hand in their escape from the degradation into which we have forced them by our complicity with oppressors. . . . Let us pay the debt we owe this race before we complain of weariness in the trifling sums we have given for schools and churches. We may longer evade this claim, and turn a deaf ear to their cry for help, but He who holds the scales of justice weighs our guilt, rejects our hypocritical apologies, and demands that justice be rendered to this race before we congratulate ourselves in the mere pittance contributed to this cause.[150]

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[149] Report of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, 1888, p. 76. (In 1888, the name of the Freedmen's Aid Society was modified as to read "The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society," and the educational work of the Church among both colored and white people in the Southern states was placed under the direction of this Society. The reports, after 1888, will be cited as Report of the F. A. S. E. S.)

[150] Report of the F. A. S., 1871, p. 15.

In 1881, in an address at the fourteenth anniversary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, in Newark, New Jersey, the Reverend John P. Newman informed the leaders of the Southern educational movement that they had an obligation to perform in the South which grew out of the conquest of that territory during the Civil War. The North had devastated that section, Newman stated, and had "destroyed its commerce, manufactures, and agriculture."[151] After admitting that the North had left the South prostrate, financially, Newman went on to say that the duty to provide for the means of education for the destitute portions of the South was intimately connected with the Northern victory.[151]

The desire of the Negro to read the Bible was a further incentive to the Methodist Episcopal Church to go to the assistance of the missionary with schools and teachers. Many of the missionaries reported that the consuming desire of great numbers of the blacks was for enough education to permit them to perform this service for themselves. Dr. Isaac Wiley asserted that as soon as the missionary went into the South in his efforts to evangelize the Negroes, he was met with appeals from them for this instruction. He said:

> . . . he met them an ignorant mass--craving, not so much the words of life and truth, for these they had heard; heard them like echoings in the air; heard them like Divine instincts in their own hearts; heard them because they had been telling them one to another; had been talking about them, and preaching about them--but the missionary was met at once: 'Give us teachers; let us learn to read; when you bring the Bible to us bring with it power to open up and read!' And old gray-haired men and withered old women came with little tottering children, and bowed down before the missionary and asked to be taught; but the missionary had no power to teach, no school in which to teach; and no arrangement by which to teach; and our friends said, 'We'll go down and will

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[151] Report of the F. A. S., 1881, p. 75.

> supplement the Missionary Society; we'll organize a Freedmen's Aid Society, and give them schools.[152]

Although the Freedmen's Aid Society started the educational movement among the Negroes at the primary level, the distinctive work of the Society was not that of promoting merely secular education. The type of education needed in the South, according to the educational philosophy of the Methodists, was an education which would rebuild character and re-establish good conduct. The example of the Christian teacher and the power of Christian education was demanded by the leaders of the movement from the very beginning and so continued until the close of the century. One of the early commentators on the need of Christian education in the South declared in 1865:

> There are thousands still who are repeating the silly question, 'What shall be done with the Negro?' Educate him and Christianize him, and he will answer that inquiry himself, and do it, too, not only in a satisfactory manner, but in a manner that will put to shame some men of a whiter complexion. Give to the freedmen a good religious education, and it will not be long before it will acknowledge that no better class of society is to be found in all the land.[153]

It was the firm belief of Bishop John M. Walden, whose influence and counsel largely shaped the policy of the Freedmen's Aid Society for more than forty-five years, that "the Bible is the text-book of the conscience," and should have large place in the education of the Southern Negro.[154] After the efforts at political reconstruction of the

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[152] Report of the F. A. S., 1870, p. 28.
[153] Letter of L. Hawkins to the Christian Advocate and Journal, August 10, 1865.
[154] Walden, J. M., "The Ballot and the Bible," in Hartzell, J. C., Christian Educators in Council, p. 226.

South had failed in a large measure, the remedy for the South and its conditions, was disclosed by one of the officers of the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1888. He declared:

> What is the remedy? General intelligence and an improved moral sentiment. This can only be secured by Christian education. Political parties can not accomplish it. Public-school systems alone can not secure it. It requires a quickening of the moral sense to remove prejudice. . . . the Christian school is the 'balm in Gilead.' Every Christian school in the South is a fortress for the defense of the country. Every Christian teacher is a soldier fighting most valiantly for the perpetuity and power of the government.[155]

In 1875, the Freedmen's Aid Society had come to the conclusion that the Negro problem in the South had not been solved by emancipation, and that the Negroes were still in a state of ignorance, weakness, self-will, and depravity. A decade of freedom had made but little progress in the solution of this problem, and the Society pointed the way for its solution through Christian education.[156] Although emancipation was regarded by the Methodist educators as the "grandest act of the Nineteenth century," they were also of the opinion that the nation freed the slaves at its own peril unless it took steps to impart to them Christian education.[157] In 1877 the Report of the Society declared that no hope was seen in the elevation of the Negro except through the means of an education that was thoroughly Christian.[158] In 1889, Dr. J. C. Hartzell, one of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Freedmen's Aid Society, wrote to one of the teachers of the South, and said: "If I have one ambition above another it is to be instrumental in helping to develop the right kind of Christian leadership in teachers, ministers, and citizens among the millions of colored people in this country."[159] The work of the Society in the last decade of the century was primarily the same as when it began in 1866, that is, a work of education grounded in the faith of Christian principles.[160]

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[155] Report of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, 1888, p.57.

[156] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, pp. 6-7.

[157] Ibid., p. 4.

[158] Ibid., 1877, p. 5.

From the time of the emancipation of the Negroes in 1863 until the last decade of the century, the Methodist Episcopla Church was alarmed over the activities of the Roman Catholic Church among the Freedmen. In the reports of the Society there appeared from time to time remarks which indicated the hostility between the Protestants and Roman Catholics and the contest between them to gain an advantageous position with the Negroes. In an article entitled "Romanism, Methodism, and the Freedmen," which appeared in the Northwestern Christian Advocate in March, 1867, the Reverend G. M. Steele stated: "What a shame it will be to our Methodism if through an antiquated, causeless and wicked prejudice we virtually remand these millions of souls whose keepers we providentially are to a great extent, to the heathenish, superstitious and degrading mummeries of Romanism."[161] One reason given by the Methodists for the educational work among the Negroes at the anniversary of the Society in 1870, was that the Church needed their "profound religious sentiment to antagonize the paganizing forms of Papacy, and the corruptions of infidelity."[162] The officers of the Society attempted to stir the enthusiasm and support of the Methodist Church on many occasions by holding up before it the threat that Roman Catholics were ready to occupy the territory on a moments notice. The report for the year 1871 announced:

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[159] Hartzell to Prof. T. A. Fortson, July 20, 1889. Hartzell Papers.
[160] Dr. John W. Hamilton in writing to Rev. A. L. Hawley, said: "Our work is peculiarly Christian education. If there is any section of the country more than another that needs to be instructed in Christian matters to tone up morals and conscience, and public spirit, it is the South." Hamilton Papers. In 1895, Hamilton wrote, "There is no need for education in the South which is not Christian." The Christian Educator, (February-March), 1895, p. 20. In 1894, Hamilton stated that the aims of the New and Higher education in the South "must be religious and missionary; the Church in the North went to the South, not to teach letters or trades only, but to make known the least understood truths of the New Testament." The Christian Educator, (January), 1894, p. 52.
[161] Northwestern Christian Advocate, March 6, 1867.

> If we abandon this field so full of promise, and give up the schools that we have taught with so much success, the Roman Catholics will enter into our labors and continue them. They stand ready to enter several localities, where we have for years sustained schools, if for the want of funds, zeal, or any other cause, we shall abandon them. If Protestants realized the danger from this quarter, they would cheerfully contribute to this enterprise the money essential to its continuance, and thus avert so fearful a calamity. Methodism, with the funds at her disposal, can hold this field against Catholicism, or any other system of error that may assail it. But the vastness of our enterprise and its adaptedness and power to save this people are not properly appreciated, and as a consequence the money requisite for this gigantic warfare is withheld, and the nation and the Church are fearfully imperiled.[163]

In 1875, the managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society warned the Methodist people in the North that the "Romanists" were directing especial attention to the Freedmen, and in the "absence of suitable efforts on the part of Protestants they may yet be successful."[164] The Freedmen were reported to be so eager to learn that they cared little who promoted the schools, as long as the advantages of an education were offered. That the Methodists were spurred on by this movement by the Roman Catholics is borne out by the following statement from one of the reports of the Society:

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[162] Report of the F. A. S., 1871, p. 21.
[163] Ibid., p. 7.
[164] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, p. 12.

> The Papists of the Old World, under the auspices of the Pope of Rome and Archbishop Manning, are sending missionaries in rapid succession to labor among this people. They are in dead earnest in this matter, and have sagacity enough to see that their only chance for supremacy in this country is to proselyte the freedmen. They have vast resources at their disposal, and expend them freely in the accomplishment of their schemes. . . . This Papal movement should be an incentive to renewed effort and zeal from all Protestants, who should every-where unite in the common cause of educating this people, and thus save them from the wiles of Romanism; for whoever aids and educates them in their ignorance and suffering will have their hearty co-operation in the future. If Protestants educate this race, they anchor it to Protestantism; if the Romanists do it, then Romanism controls it. . . . There is no agency so well adapted to confront this foe as the Freedmen's Aid Society. It is in the field with enlarged experience; its schools are judiciously located, in central places; its teachers are efficient, enthusiastic, and pious; and only the means are wanted. Give it the money demanded for its work, and, in connection with other Protestant societies, it will save the South from the triumph of Romanism. Methodism, with the spirituality of its worship, increases its antagonistic power against Romanism, and meets the great want of the negro, whose heart is peculiarly susceptible to religious impressions. Class and prayer and camp meetings, fervent preaching and exhortation, the singing of spiritual hymns, and the relating of Christian experience, are more than a match for all the ceremony and display of the Romish Church. Methodism, with the funds, and the honest recognition of Christian brotherhood, may defeat Rome, and save the nation.[165]

The efforts of the Roman Catholic Church seem to have been successful in the education of the Negro race. Although Dr. Richard S. Rust stated that "wherever a priest or a sister of charity went to proselyte the people and organize a church, there they found a Methodist to resist attack,"[166] Dr. J. C. Hartzell pointed out in 1893 that the Roman Catholics were still making an effort to "capture the Negroes of the United States."[167] In that year the Roman Catholics reported twenty-eight priests in thirty-one churches; 115 schools, having 8,280 scholars. Hartzell claimed that in three years the Roman Catholics had baptized 13,523 children and 998 adults. He also reported that twenty-one communions of white sisterhoods were laboring among the blacks, and teaching over 8,000 pupils.[168] Although the Negro was held by the leaders of the Methodist educational movement to be Protestant by instinct, they looked upon the education of the race by the Roman Catholics with horror. Hartzell was especially suspicious of the motives of this religious body, and expressed the opinion that "should the Roman Catholic Church come to control the vote of the Negro in the South as it now does the foreign of the North, Satolli, our American pope, or his successor, can dictate who shall be President of the United States."[169] Despite the fear of the Protestants of that time of the Roman Catholic activities among the Negroes, the former were by far more successful in evangelizing them. The religious services of the Methodist and Baptist Churches were especially suited to the Negro temperament. One of the Roman Catholic priests, when congratulated on his success among the Negroes, replied with a shrug of his shoulders, "that when the Methodists had a camp-meeting in that region they all went; and on his return there, they all had to be converted to Catholicism again."[170]

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[165] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

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[166] Hartzell, J. C., *Christian Educators in Council*, p. 198.

[167] *The Christian Educator* (October, 1893), p. 22.

[168] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

[169] *Ibid.*, p. 23. (The reports of the Freedmen's Aid Society frequently mention this rivalry. See the reports for *1872*, pp. 9-12; *1873*, p. 41. *1874*, p. 16; *1875*, p. 20; *1875*, p. 9; *1875*, pp. 61-64; *1877*, p. 10; *1890*, p. 6.

Another reason given by the Methodists in the North for their educational efforts in the Southern states was that the Church program assisted in combating the high illiteracy rate among the Negroes. They felt that to educate and make moral the illiterate masses of the South was not simply a benevolent work, but that it involved the very existence of the nation, and the maintenance of the essential principles on which rested the Christian civilization of the country.[171] The ballot in the hands of an illiterate Negro was considered by the Methodist educators as a national menace, and they urged the support of the Church's educational program on that score. The New York East Conference in 1870 adopted a resolution stating that as the "nation has invited them to the ballot-box, it becomes needful to lead them to the sources of knowledge and piety."[172] No power, the resolution stated, was so fitted for this work than the Protestant churches of the country.[173] In an address at the anniversary celebration of the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1875, the Reverend Dr. Townsend of Boston University, pointed out that Congress had been trying to reconstruct the Southern states for ten years and despite all attempted reconstruction, the South was in a worse condition than at the close of the Civil War. He expressed the opinion that legislation in Washington would amount to nothing, and that Congress was only adding to the disturbed conditions of the South. Stating that the government of the United States had failed to accomplish much in the elevation of the Negro, Dr. Townsend urged the prosecution of the educational efforts in his behalf.[174]

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[170] The Christian Educator (October, 1891), p. 308.
[171] Hartzell, J. C., Christian Educators in Council, p. 6.
[172] Minutes of the New York East Conference of the M. E. Church, 1870, p. 29.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, pp. 78-81.

Deploring the discontinuance of the Freedmen's Bureau and the loss of its support in the education of the Negro, he declared, "thirty-nine per cent of the voters in the Southern states are today unable to read. Think of the ballot held in the hands of 1,157,000 men who can not read!"[175] In 1873, a correspondent to the Western Christian Advocate stated that in South Carolina the Negro was looked upon "as the political provender of politicians,"[176] and his future would turn upon the degree of his education. The lack of Christian education, and the lack of moral sensibility among the Negroes in Louisiana, caused them to "sell their votes at an election, some for one dollar, some for five dollars."[177] The Reverend W. D. Godman, president of one of the Methodist schools in Louisiana stated that the Negroes in that state realized that it paid to vote in the elections. Charging that they sold their votes outright, he declared that none of them seemed to think that God was displeased with this procedure. "None," he said, "questions whether it is right. Even the Gospel minister takes his five dollars and says, 'It would be a fine thing to have an election once a month.'"[178] A solution for these conditions among the Negroes, according to a Negro educated in one of the schools of the Church, was to be found in Christian education. He said, "breathe into his nostrils the breath of American life, and he will not only cast his ballot, but will count it."[179] As one of the chief aims of the Freedmen's Aid Society had been "to educate and train an emancipated and enfranchised race for useful citizenship in this

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[175] Ibid., p. 75.
[176] Mansfield, E. D., "The Negro in the South, and Our Duty to Him," in the Western Christian Advocate, January 15, 1873.
[177] Godman, W. D., Gilbert Academy and Agricultural College, p. 41.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Bowen, J. W. E., "Why," in The Christian Educator (October, 1892), p.6.

Christian Republic," the description of the illiteracy among that race caused continued and enthusiastic support among the Methodists.

In the 1880's a great many of the representatives of the educational societies working among the Negroes realized that some governmental aid would be necessary for the prosecution of this enterprise. According to the editor of The Christian Educator the illiterates of the South were increasing more rapidly than they could be educated and Christianized. He asserted that at the close of the decade ending with 1880, there were 365,000 more illiterate persons in the South than at the beginning in 1870.[180] In 1884, Dr. J. L. M. Curry presented a picture of the educational conditions in the Southern states, which to him, was a reason for Federal aid for education in that region, and also regarded by the Methodists as a reason for the continuation of their efforts in the South. The conditions in the South, as given by Dr. Curry, are as follows:

> In the late Slave States there is a school enrollment of over 3,000,000 in a school population of about 6,000,000 and for the education of these enrolled these states expended over $13,000,000. . . . Every Southern state has now a system of public schools. The same educational rights and privileges are granted to both races. School money is distributed without discrimination betwixt African and Caucasian. . . . Despite these patriotic efforts illiteracy abounds fearfully. Of the school population of the South, 3,000,000 are not in school. The whites of educational age, under nineteen, not enrolled, number 1,741,339; the colored, 1,038,026. Nearly one-half of the white children, and more than one-half of the colored; are growing up without educational advantages. The resources of the South are wholly inadequate to meet the heavy burden which is upon her. In her present financial condition, universal education, without Federal aid, is distant--is impossible.[181]

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[180] The Christian Educator (April, 1894), pp. 114-115.
[181] Curry, J. L. M., National Peril and Remedy, (1884), pp. 5-6.

As late as 1896, the inadequacy of educational privileges was pointed out as a reason for the continuation of Methodist support for education in the South. In that year the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society reported to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church that "in spite of all the advances that have been made, seventy per cent of the colored . . . people in the South, ten years of age and over, cannot write. . . . As seventy per cent of all in whose homes children were born are unable to write, only thirty per cent are born of parents competent or interested to instruct them. Hence, the fearful responsibility, calling for increased facilities for education."[182]

In 1882 and 1883 the National Educational Assembly, comprising a large number of the Christian educators of the United States, met at Ocean Grove, New Jersey, to "awaken and direct public sentiment in favor of enlarged National, State, and Church effort, for the education and elevation of our illiterate and degraded masses."[183] The co-operation of the United States Commissioner of Education, John Eaton, was readily secured, as was that of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Educational Societies and the chief religious denominations of the country. This assembly furnished a platform for the workers in Southern education, and many of the Methodists who were employed by the Church in the South expressed themselves on the questions of education and their relations to individual, social, and national well-being. Many of the speakers were in favor of Federal aid for the common schools of the South. General S. C. Armstrong asserted that the Negroes furnished the people of the country with a national problem. He declared: "We stand or fall with them and they with us. The illiterates have the balance of power in this land. They can make and unmake the President, and almost the nation itself."[184] The Reverend W. H. Ward, editor of the New York *Independent*, stated that the benevolent societies could not do all the work necessary for the education of the Negroes, nor could the states of the South do it all. He urged Federal aid for the schools, and suggested that the United States could do it, for "the government is rich."[185] The Reverend S. B. Darnell, president of a Methodist institute for Negroes in Florida, declared that although the education of the Negro had been advocated from rostrum, pulpit, and press, the remedies up until 1883 had been wholly inadequate. Many of the early teachers of the Negroes, whom he termed "Christian heroes," had done much good among the Negroes, but at that time this noble band had scarcely a representative among the common schools of the entire South. Darnell urged the entire assembly to urge "the strong hand of the nation's aid, to interpose and declare by the use of millions."[186] Prior to the sessions of the National Educational Assembly, the Methodist leaders in the South realized that the task of education was too great to be disposed of by benevolent agencies, and urged the support of the Federal Government in the enterprise. In 1880, the Reverend Thomas H. Pearne called upon the Government to educate the Freedmen of the South.[187] Further agitation upon the subject led the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1884 to adopt a resolution urging the enactment into law of the Blair Educational Bill then before Congress.[188] The measure was shunted aside by the Congressional body for some years and finally defeated during the session of 1890. This legislation would have enlisted the support of the Federal Government, but any such move in that direction was opposed by the South. When the proposed bill was defeated the Louisville Courier-Journal head-lined the occasion with the words "Dead and Damned."[189] Dr. J. C. Hartzell, editor of The Christian Educator took the opposite position and stated:

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[182] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1896, p. 726.
[183] Hartzell, J. C., Christian Educators in Council, p. 6.

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[184] *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188.
[185] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[186] *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.
[187] *Report of the F. A. S.*, 1880, pp. 42-47.
[188] *Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church*, 1884, p. 365.

> The defeat of this bill is a triumph for political Bourbonism and Roman Catholic Jesuitism. Bourbonism does not want the masses educated, especially where the Negro is included. Jesuitism is the tireless foe of the public-school system. The scheme for National aid to common schools, planned in the Blair Bill, meant a tremendous impetus to popular education among the illiteratre masses of the Republic. Neither the Bourbon in politics nor the Jesuit in religion will have this, if, by any kind of diplomacy, it can be prevented. . . . The monumental blunder of the Republican party in the reconstruction of the South, after the war, was in not making an efficient public-school system one of the conditions for the readmission of the Southern States to the rights and privileges of the Union. The right or expediency of giving the National ballot to the Freedmen, or of restoring it to the white man in the South, could not be more clear or imperative than the right or expediency of requiring, wherever necessary, that those who were to use the ballot should have the opportunity to learn how to use it intelligently.[190]

When the advocates of Negro education among the Methodist Episcopal Church realized that little assistance could be expected from the Federal Government, the question of prosecuting this work was answered by these champions of the Negro's rights. At the anniversary of the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1872, Bishop E. S. Janes stated that the States in the South would assist in educating the Negro as far as possible; that the Federal Government, to his sorrow, had ceased to labor in this direction; that the African Zion Methodist Church and the Southern Methodist Church appreciated the question, and desired to promote it as far as possible, but lacked the financial means. The question as to who should educate the Negro, according to Bishop Janes, was clearly the responsibility of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In this address, he said:

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[189] The Christian Educator, (April, 1890), p. 84.
[190] Loc. cit.

> I repeat my conviction, we have a very grave responsibility in this matter. In the first place, we have the facilities for doing it: we have the schools; we have the organization; we have the normal and theological institutions necessary to educate the teachers and ministers required for this people, and, sir, we have the men and women; we can enlist just as many as the Pope of Rome can; men and women just as true to the cause, who will go, in the strength of God, and serve him in this sphere. We have the men and women; yes, and we have the money. The Divine Government has a great many revenue collectors who are Methodists, and they have very large deposits of his revenue in their pockets.[191]

One of the basic ideas behind the Methodist educational movement in the Southern states was that the missions among the people of that section could not be maintained without the assistance of the school. Immediately after the Civil War, when Northern Methodists were discussing the reconstruction of the Southern states, many of them expressed the opinion that the Church and school, religion and education, should go hand in hand toward the accomplishment of that purpose. Moreover, they held that the establishment of the Northern Church in the South would fail unless steps were taken to off-set the denominational movement among the Churches of the North. Early in 1867, the Reverend T. Willard Lewis reported that the strength and permanency of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South depended greatly upon its action in relation to the establishment of schools.[192] When the Freedmen's Aid Society was organized in 1866, the missionaries of the Church in the South regarded it with special favor, and found it "essential to their highest success to supplement their work with that of the Christian teachers."[193] The editor of the Ladies Repository, Dr. I. W. Wiley, declared in 1867 that "the Church edifice and the school-house must stand side by side in the great work of Christian civilization among the Freedmen."[194] In addition to these reasons, the schools established by the Northern Methodists aided in the recruiting of new members for the Church. Dr. R. S. Rust, the founder of most of the Methodist schools after the war, wrote to the editor of The Christian Advocate and said:

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[191] Report of the F. A. S., 1872, pp. 34-35.

> As to the influence our schools have on the Freedmen, when established, I would say, that without our schools we should have been able to do but very little in our mission work among the Freedmen. The schools we have distinguish us, in the minds of the Freedmen, from the Southern Methodists, who would not, and the African Methodists, who could not, furnish schools for them, and have given us the advantage we enjoy at this time. These poor people judge by what they see, as they know but little of the history of our own or any other denomination.[195]

In 1872, Dr. Rust stated that the Negroes could have never arisen above the prejudice and opposition that surrounded them but for the religious education offered in the schools of the Society.[196] Another worker in Methodist reconstruction in the South wrote to the North and asserted that the schools were of great importance to the whole program of the Church in that section of the country. He declared:

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[192] The Christian Advocate, June 27, 1867.
[193] The Ladies Repository (1867), XXVII, p. 187.
[194] Loc. cit.
[195] The Christian Advocate, October 14, 1869.
[196] Western Christian Advocate, July 3, 1872.

> Your schools in the South, in my opinion, are doing more good in elevating the colored people, than all the Churches put together. It is education that the poor freedmen need to lift them out of their degraded condition. . . . If the schools are abandoned, our whole mission in the South might as well be abandoned at once; for they form the only reliable basis upon which we can build with safety. I have observed . . . that where our schools have failed, the Church has failed also.[197]

By 1877 the policy of the Church in the South was clearly outlined, and the functions of the benevolent societies were equally divided. The Missionary Society furnished the ministry; the Church Extension Society appropriated money for the building of church edifices; and the Freedmen's Aid Society employed the teachers and established schools.[198]

That the missionaries in the South realized the importance of the schools to the success of the mission work is indicated by the reports which they sent to the North immediately following the Civil War. In 1866, one missionary in Tennessee declared that the great want among the Freedmen of that state was an opportunity for acquiring an education. He stated that the colored people had a "great eagerness to improve their intellectual faculties; and they do not so much desire donations to aid them, as that teachers should come among them who will be protected in the performance of their duties . . .'Send us teachers, we will pay them,' is almost a universal cry."[199] Impatient to start the work of education among the Negroes, the Mississippi Mission Conference in 1866 proceeded to organize schools without the aid of the Church, or the Freedmen's Aid

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[197] *Report of the F. A. S.*, 1874, p. 12.
[198] *Ibid.*, 1877, p. 39.
[199] *The Freedman* (London, 1866), p. 191.

Society. The Conference complained that the Freedmen's Aid Society, organized a few months before, had not sent teachers to that region. "Let Bishop Clark and Drs. Rust and Walden have an eye to our wants in the Mississippi Mission Conference," the Committee on Education reported, "as well as to those in Georgia and Alabama, where they have sent twenty-five teachers, while we have got not one from them."[200] Although the newly organized Freedmen's Aid Society endeavored to send teachers as rapidly as its budget would allow, the appeals from the South increased. The Reverend J. A. McCutchen, presiding elder of the Demopolis District in Alabama, wrote in November, 1867:

> I am sure that the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church would give us some assistance in carrying on schools if it knew how important it is for the interest of the Church for them to do so. I do not see how we are to get along without schools in connection with our mission work on my district. . . . The freedmen in this district are literally starving for want of food for the mind, and are hungering and thirsting for education. I do hope the Society may be able to help in this great and important work in this district.[201]

A teacher in Louisiana called for help from the Society in 1867 in the following manner:

> I pray you to send us some relief. If possible send us a good primary teacher, for this is what we most need. Our attendance is larger than ever before. Scores of these long-neglected and starving souls are crowding our gates and looking to us for the blessings of knowledge. Shall we welcome them to our schools and furnish them with the means of intellectual and moral culture, or shall we allow them to wander away to other folds and other fountains? Help! Help! Help![202]

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[200] The Christian Advocate, January 3, 1867.
[201] Western Christian Advocate, November 6, 1867.
[202] Ibid., May 8, 1867.

According to the communications from the Southern field, the universal cry of the Negro was for education. Dr. J. M. Reid stated at the anniversary of the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1870 that "the colored people want above all things, the blessings of education. They do not ask you to give them lands and homes . . . They ask not social equality . . . Their one great cry is for an education."[203] In Memphis, Tennessee, a city of forty thousand inhabitants in 1865 and one-half of whom were colored people, the Freedmen were reported to be "intensely eager to learn to read."[204] Bishop Bowman, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, stated in 1876 that some of the Negroes had walked "from two to three hundred miles to Conference to secure, if possible, not only preachers, but also teachers, to save these people from the deeper degradation to which, in some sections they are sinking."[205]

One of the most important reasons for the educational activity of the Methodist Episcopal Church among the Negroes of the South, was the wide-spread belief in that Church that the Southern Churches were not fitted for the education of the race. Since the Southern Churches had been so closely connected with the institution of slavery, and had denied the privileges of education to the Negro prior to the Civil War, the Northern Methodists reasoned that they would continue in the same policy. An examination of the literature of the Northern Methodist Church during the period 1863-1900 will reveal that Church's opinions concerning the actions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in relation to Negro education. With few exceptions, the Northern Methodists declared that the Southern Methodist Church was derelict in its duty to educate the Negroes. Contrary to Southern testimony, the Northern Methodists expressed the opinion that the Southerners were opposed to Negro education immediately following the Civil War. In 1866, a correspondent wrote to The Christian Advocate from the South and stated:

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[203] Report of the F. A. S., 1871, pp. 21-22.
[204] Christian Advocate and Journal, June 22, 1865.
[205] Report of the F. A. S., 1877, p. 41.

> The people here are not converted from their old ideas. They will never educate the Negroes themselves, nor suffer others to do it if they can help it. No school can be kept up among the Negroes except there is a military post convenient enough to afford protection.[206]

According to the Northern reports, immediately following the war the practical decision of the Southern people was to let the Negro alone, saying "that the North had freed the slaves, let it take care of him." Furthermore, they forsook the assembling of the slaves together for divine worship as in the days of Capers, and were indifferent to their Christian education.[207] The editor of The Christian Educator stated in 1898: "He was turned from the Churches that once welcomed him, banished to schools where he might teach himself, and left to earn his own living 'without knowing how.'"[208]

The Reverend J. H. Caldwell, a Northern Methodist missionary in Georgia in 1866, expressed the opinion that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South was not financially able to care for the Negroes as it had done before the war. He reported that in that year the Southern Church had only ninety-two missions among the "whole mass" of colored people in the South. "There are," he said, "not less than 156 of the missions reported in 1861 that are now left entirely destitute. I do not charge the Church, South, with designedly neglecting her colored missions. She is not able to take care of them. But she ought not complain, much less charge others harshly for coming in and taking care of those for whom she is no longer able to provide."[209] On another occasion, Caldwell stated that the colored people had been deprived of their former care by the Southern Methodist Church "owing to the impoverishment of the Church, rather than any disposition of its part to abandon their colored charges."[210]

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[206] The Christian Advocate, September 13, 1866.
[207] The Christian Educator (February-March, 1899), p. 62.
[208] Ibid., (December-January, 1897-98), p. 2.

Other reports from the South in the 1860's charged the Southern Methodist Church with deserting the Negro. Chaplain M. French stated that in 1865 the white people of South Carolina opposed Negro schools, for the "schools for the freedmen may open the way to the ballot-box, and possibly to representation in state and national assembly, and they must be opposed."[211] A Northern Methodist from "Dixie" criticized the editor of the Nashville Christian Advocate in 1866 for his attitude toward the Freedmen. He pointed out that Dr. D. D. Whedon, of the Methodist Quarterly Review had expressed confidence in the Southern Methodist Church in its anticipated treatment of the Negro by stating: "We infer that toward the Negro, whatever the irreligious and the politicians may do, Southern Methodists profess their purpose to be humane, Christian, parental," but that the editor of the Nashville Advocate had retorted: "No, Dr. Whedon has not hit it yet. His . . . influences are wide the mark." In other words, this correspondent asserted, the Southern Methodist editor declares "that Southern Methodists profess their purpose toward the negro to be in-humane, un-Christian, and nonparental. The Lord have mercy on the soul of the Nashville Christian Advocate."[212] The Reverend Thomas H. Pearne of the Northern Church informed that organization of the trend of the Southern Methodist attitude toward the North in 1868. He wrote:

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[209] The Christian Advocate, May 3, 1866.
[210] Ibid., December 6, 1866.
[211] The Christian Advocate and Journal, June 1, 1865.

> Study their Church periodicals and it will not require long nor careful observation to discover 'of what manner of spirit they are.' You will find lamentations for the 'lost cause;' you will find abundant praise of Confederate heroes--living and dead. Is this all? Alas No! 'Radicals,' 'Black republicanism,' 'the fanatical North,' an 'ursurping Jacobinal Congress,' come in for ample share of ridicule, abuse and contempt. I do not say this is the staple of their weekly press; but so far as I can see, this spirit leavens the whole lump.[213]

A perusal of the literature of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the 1860's will show that this Church considered its responsibility toward the Negro. In August 1865, the Baltimore Episcopal Methodist expressed the sentiment that it was an "imperative duty" to establish Sabbath schools among the Negroes, "no longer upon the system of oral, but of literal instruction, in which the thousands of ignorant children shall be taught to read the word of God. This we believe to be a solemn debt which the South owes to the African race." The periodical continued by saying that another duty would be "to furnish them with day schools, in which as the intervals of labor would permit, they might acquire the ordinary branches of education, to prepare them for the pursuits upon which their secular advancement depends."[214] In November 1865, the South Carolina Conference asserted that it felt a "deep and abiding solicitude" for the welfare of the Negro race, and pledged that it would continue to put forth its "best efforts in their service and for their good."[215] In December 1865 the Mobile Conference recommended that pastors of the Conference promote the education of the Negro children in their charges, as far as it seemed practicable.[216] In the next year, the Montgomery Conference resolved that it would recommend to its membership that they "countenance and encourage day schools for the education of colored children, under proper regulations and trustworthy teachers."[217] Stating that the future welfare and development of the Negro depended upon the advantages of education, the Mississippi Conference adopted a resolution declaring that "it shall be the duty of the Presiding Elders in charge of circuits and stations, to organize schools, where they can do so to advantage, for the education of the Negro, and where it can be done in accordance with the Statutes of the State."[218]

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[212] The Christian Advocate, March 1, 1866.
[213] Northwestern Christian Advocate, March 11, 1868.
[214] The Episcopal Methodist, August 2, 1865.

That such measures taken by the Annual Conferences met the general approval of the Church at large is shown by the action taken by the General Conference of the Southern Methodist Church which met at New Orleans during the Spring of 1866. In adopting measures to promote schools among the Negroes, the General Conference stated: "Let our great hearted people see to it that this is no empty boast, nor dead letter on our statute book. True, we are all bankrupt, and our white schools are nearly all disbanded or dismantled. Well, let us rise together, the white school and the colored school, all over the land. Some of the whites are poor enough; but all of the blacks are poor; poor in property; poor in intelligence; poor in influence and poor in worldly thrift. Education is just what they want. Let us help them to it."[219] Moreover, the Conference adopted a resolution recommending "to our people the establishment of day-schools, under proper regulations and trustworthy teachers, for the education of colored children."[220]

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[215] Minutes of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1865, p. 14.
[216] Journal of the Mobile Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1865, p. 14.
[217] Proceedings of the Montgomery Conference as given in the New Orleans Christian Advocate, January 27, 1866, and cited in Farish, op. cit., p. 177.
[218] Proceedings of the Mississippi Annual Conference as given in the New Orleans Christian Advocate, January 20, 1866, and cited in Farish, op. cit. p. 178.

For some time following the Civil War, the Southern Methodists were active in the education of colored children through the medium of the Sunday schools. Several of the leaders of the Southern Church were of much advantage to the Freedmen's Bureau in establishing schools. General Wager Swayne, who had charge of the Bureau activities in Alabama, declared that the Reverend Holland N. McTyeire was at all times in favor of Negro schools.[221] Among others, the Reverend Charles K. Marshall of Vicksburg entreated the Southern people to accept the benefits of the facilities provided by the Bureau.[222]

After the Southern Methodists had declared in favor of Negro education at the General Conference of 1866, the Reverend John P. Newman, who had been ousted from the Carondelet Street church of the Southern Methodists just in time for the General Conference to meet in that place, gave his reactions to the resolutions of the body. He said:

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[219] Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1866, p. 39.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 457.
[222] Farish, op. cit., pp. 180-182.

> A committee reported, 1st. That we recommend to our people the establishment of day-schools, under proper regulations and trustworthy teachers, for the education of colored children. Now this is a move in the right direction. True, the Conference, in adopting this report, did not establish any schools, but then they recommended that it should be done, which is just as good, of course; and besides, these schools are to be established under proper regulations. In this the wisdom of the committee is manifest. We are compelled to admire them in this specification. If it had not been made, schools might have been established under improper regulations which would have led to bad results. Besides, these schools are to be under 'trustworthy teachers.' This is also prudent; Yankee school teachers are not 'trustworthy', and should not be permitted to teach the colored children; they might instill into their youthful minds notions of freedom, manhood, and equal rights, which would have a decidedly bad tendency. . . . If anyone should ask why the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church did not take steps toward founding some particular institution of learning for the benefit of the colored people, or at least recommend some feasible plan for giving them the financial assistance they so much need, the reply is, as to the first, they did recommend the establishment of schools 'under proper regulations;' and as to the second, the 'trustworthy teachers' will doubtless be able to collect from their pupils a sufficiency to compensate them for their disinterested labor. . . . Recommendations and promises are notoriously cheap commodities, and beyond these the General Conference did not a single thing for the colored people.[223]

Many Southern writers claim that the Southern people were in favor of the education of the Negro immediately following the Civil War, and that the political activities of the Northern carpetbagger and the Freedmen's Bureau turned them against all efforts in this direction.[224] Whether this contention is true or not,[224] testimony from both the North and South points to a neglect of the education of the Negroes by the Southern Methodist Church during the Reconstruction Period. Although some instruction was given in the Sunday schools established by that Church, few steps were taken toward the establishment of day-schools among that race. The appropriations for missions among the Negroes declined rapidly after the war. In 1862, the Southern Methodist Church contributed $93,509.70 to mission work among the colored people.[225] In 1865, the Church gave $80,000 to such work, but during the years 1866-1870 the contributions had fallen to an average of $10,000 a year.[226] Although very little was being accomplished for the education of the Negroes by the Southern Methodist Church, the Reverend J. Harrell, the superintendent of missions, reported in 1868 to the Nashville Christian Advocate that "we have, at present, four tribes of Indians under our pastoral care, viz., the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks."[227] At the close of the year 1878, the Southern Methodist Church had established missions in China, Mexico, and Brazil.[228]

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[223] The Christian Advocate, May 31, 1866, quoting Dr. Newman in the New Orleans Advocate, May 12, 1866.

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[224] See Garner, op. cit., p. 363; Farish, op. cit., 185-186: Lonn, Ella, Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868, pp. 355-356; Hamilton, J. G. deR., Reconstruction in North Carolina, pp. 418-420; Hollis, J. P., The Early Period of Reconstruction in South Carolina, p. 57; Thirkield, W. P., A Working Conference on the Union of American Methodism, p. 247; Bratton, T. B., The Christian South and Negro Education, pp. 4-5; Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, pp. 463, 465, 607, 624-625, 625-626, 627, 650-651; Sweet, W. W., "Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, (March, 1915), pp. 550-551. For an opposite view, see DuBois, W. E. B., Black Reconstruction, pp. 637, 645.

[225] Southall, E. P., "The Attitude of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, toward the Negro from 1844-1870," in The Journal of Negro History (October, 1931), XVI, 368.

[226] Bowen, T., Divine White Right, p. 120.

[227] Hyde, op. cit., pp. 245-247.

[228] Northwestern Christian Advocate, August 26, 1868.

The General Conference of the Church had fully expressed itself on its obligation to provide education for the colored people, but the bishops said nothing concerning this subject in the address to the General Conference of 1874.[229]

Beginning with the 1870's, a number of the Southern Methodists confessed that their Church had not liberally aided the Negroes in acquiring an education. The Reverend S. A. Steel wrote to the Nashville Christian Advocate and declared: "There is no use complaining of the invasion of Northern Methodists. So long as the Southern Methodists do not educate their ministers liberally, they ought not lament because sagacious Yankees plant their universities in the South."[230] In 1877, Dr. M'Anally of the Southern Church declared that he was concerned over the neglect of his Church toward the needs of the colored race. As editor of the St. Louis Christian Advocate, he called his Church to search its mind concerning its obligation to the Negro in the following words:

> A very grave question has again and again presented itself to our mind of late. It is whether the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is filling the full measure of its duty toward the colored people of this country. We are laboring to support missions in China, South America, and Mexico, and looking toward Japan; but what of the 'Greeks near the door.' We are very strongly inclined to inquire into this matter. I think there should be great searchings of hearts among Southern Methodists upon this subject. . . . I am glad to see a stirring article on the subject in the Southern Christian Advocate of April 3rd by the Reverend James H. Carlisle of South Carolina. He declares among many great questions is the religious and intellectual education of the colored race. After stating the mistakes we made at the close of the war,

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[229] Ibid., May 13, 1874.
[230] Northwestern Christian Advocate, January 28, 1874.

> and our suspicion of the colored people and their helpers from the North, he admits that some came with motives as pure as those which carry missionaries into foreign fields, but they found little sympathy from their white neighbors with them or their work. . . . What we did from twelve to thirty years ago will not avail for the duty today . . . . What help have we given the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in establishing schools? Yet their leading bishop pleaded earnestly for assistance for that purpose for a long time to little purpose. . . . Then let us thank God that the Methodist Episcopal Church has both men and money to consecrate to this great work of teaching and training the colored youth of the South.[231]

Dr. Atticus G. Haygood, a distinguished churchman among the Southern Methodists, represented the best thought in the South concerning the Negro and his elevation. His sentiments concerning the Negro problem in the South was set forth in a book entitled "Our Brother in Black," which was published in 1881. The book struck the North with surprise, and caused some criticism among the clergy of the Southern Methodist Church, but its total effect led the South to think more seriously about its obligation to the Negro race. Soon after the publication of this book, Dr. Haygood was invited to be the Director of the John F. Slater Fund and spent nine years in translating into action his theories concerning Negro education.

Dr. Haygood rebuked the Southern people because of their attitude toward the whole Negro problem. He declared: "The worse fault of the Southern people since the war in relation to the negro's education has not been that they themselves have done so little but that they have not more cordially cooperated with those who were able to do great things and were trying hard to do them."[232] He was of the opinion that the Southern whites should take part in the teaching of the Negroes. "There have been some very sad and hurtful mistakes in the relations assumed by most of us in the South to this whole matter," he pointed out, "and especially in the fact that, with very rare exceptions, our people have steadfastly refused to teach negro children."[233] When the Southern Methodists offered excuses for their failure to aid in the education of the race, Haygood answered the excuses by saying: "But 'others' we are told 'are doing this work.' They are doing part of it--their part. But it is too great a work for others; it is very heavy for them and for us if we all work. But if 'others' were doing all that is needed their obedience would not excuse our lack of service."[234] He continued by saying, "No argument, no excuse can justify our failure to do more for the uplifting and evangelization of the millions of negroes in the South than we are now doing."[235]

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[231] Ibid., April 25, 1877.

In 1886, Dr. Haygood addressed the student body at the Northern Methodist Gammon Theological Seminary at Atlanta, and scored the Southern Methodist Church for its attitude toward the elevation of the Negro race. He said:

> I do not mean to be impolite, but I doubt if the great Church that stands closest to it has any just

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[232] Haygood, A. G., Our Brother in Black (Nashville, 1881), p. 163.
[233] Ibid., p. 148.
[234] Haygood, A. G., "Southern Methodism and Six Millions of Negroes," in the Wesleyan Christian Advocate, January 21, 1882, as cited in Smith, M. L. Atticus G. Haygood--Christian Educator (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation at Yale University, 1929,) p. 311.
[235] Ibid., pp. 309-310.

> comprehension of the importance of this well begun work. I am sure that it has not guaged its magnitude. I know that, with few exceptions, the white people of the South do not justly appreciate this, nor any institution like it. They can not, for few of them know of its existence; many do not care to know; not a few look with suspicion upon everything like it; a steadily and rapidly diminishing number throw contempt upon the whole business of educating colored people in any way and for any thing.[236]

Dr. Haygood was not the only critic of the Southern Methodist Church at this time. The Northern Methodists heaped coals of fire upon the heads of their Southern brethren for their laxity in establishing institutions of learning for the black folk. The Atlanta Christian Advocate, a Northern Methodist publication, criticized the Southerners in 1870 for its treatment of the Negro following the war, in the following statements:

> The Church, South, with all its boasts, has done for the freedmen, nothing. True, it has laid hands upon a few and made them deacons and elders, after refusing for years to do so, called them together in Conferences, and promised them Bishops, and has just started a paper for them that may continue if the colored men furnish the money; but their black, yellow, or white fingers must not touch the sacred columns of the Christian Advocates, (one might suppose that colored Southern Methodists were not to be recognized as Christians). No, no, the Southern Christian Advocates cannot stoop to the 'good Samaritan' work of uplifting God's poor, but would stand off sneeringly at Jesus because he 'eats with publicans and sinners!' If the Church, South, has, since the war, built a house of worship, maintained a school, or as a Church given twenty-five cents for its colored membership, we have not learned the fact, either in our travels, or from their papers. In the reorganization of the Church, the colored members were excluded; and after the most careful observation, we do not believe that it would now be doing anything for

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[236] Report of the F. A. S., 1886, p. 51.

> the colored people, but to oppose the Methodist Episcopal Church, and aid the Democratic party.[237]

In 1875, Bishop Gilbert Haven addressed the Freedmen's Aid Society, and quoted Professor Bennett of Fisk University as stating that "he was surprised that no Church in the South had ever concerned itself with the education of these four millions of its people."[238] In 1877, Dr. R. S. Rust reported to the Freedmen's Aid Society that up to that time the Southern Churches had not established a single institution of learning for the Negroes, and that the South was opposed to the whole movement.[239]

During the years 1879-1882, Dr. Haygood wrote a number of editorials in the Wesleyan Christian Advocate concerning Negro education which probably was the chief reason for the establishment of Paine College at Augusta, Georgia, in 1882 by the Southern Methodist Church for purposes of Negro education. The name of the school was selected in honor of Bishop Robert Paine, at that time the senior bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Negroes and native Southern white people worked together on the faculty of the school from the beginning, and all the presidents have been white men.[240] Beginning in 1887, a Southern Methodist minister, the Reverend T. F. Saunders, served for fifteen years as president of Lane College at Jackson, Tennessee, which had been established by the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in 1878. In the following years the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, cooperated with and aided in the support of these institutions.

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[237] Zion's Herald, January 6, 1870, quoting the Atlanta Advocate.
[238] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, p. 21.
[239] Report of the F. A. S., 1877, pp. 77-78.
[240] Paine College Bulletin, September, 1931, pp. 9-10.

In the last decade of the century, the Southern Methodist Church had not regained its interest in the Negro that it had prior to the Civil War. In 1895, the Southern Methodist Church contributed only $5,428 to the educational work of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, and about forty per cent of this sum was paid to the commission for collecting it. In the same year the Methodist Episcopal Church contributed $165,000 for all purposes of work among the Negroes of the South.[241] As late as 1896, Bishop Haygood of the Southern Methodist Church, admitted that his Church was not prepared to participate in this benevolent work. He declared;

> As to Southern Methodists, they are not, at this time, in any way prepared to carry on this stupendous work. We have undertaken to set up two schools for the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church--Paine Institute and Lane Institute. Alas! we make slow progress. I believe there is a growing conviction among us all that God will not hold us guiltless unless we do more and better for this work. As to undertaking to do church work for these millions of Negroes, no church in the South is in position financially or morally, to do it. This I know; let such as wish to contradict do so. Would to God the Methodist Episcopal Church could do more for the evangelization of the Negro! May all Northern Churches increase their efforts to save him and us.[242]

Many of the Southern people looked upon the educational movement of the Northern Churches in the South as similar to the political reconstruction of that region. The temper and manner and beliefs in which the Northern educators went about the business of educating the Negro, as gathered from the reports of the various societies and associations, took on the aspects of a crusade designed to reconstruct the Southern social order. Many of them felt that the educational system in the South should be directed only by the people of the North, for only the North had the correct philosophy of education. The type of civilization found in the South was repugnant to most Northerners, and the teachers sought to replace it with "Northern" civilization. The total absorption of the South was regarded by some Northern educators as a desired goal. As late as 1894, Dr. J. W. Hamilton, one of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Freedmen's Aid Society declared: "The North is literally absorbing the South. Ichabod is written over every gateway along 'the border'--and this absorption must go on until the end shall be, not fraternity, but identity. There will be no more South, it will be all North and all Christian."[243] It was announced in one of the reports of the Freedmen's Aid Society that "the temples of science and religion that we have erected, and in which we have placed Christian men and women to minister to their altars, resemble light-houses in a rock-bound coast. Wherever the school is located the general aspect of society is changed."[244] Another report declared that the "brothel" which slavery created could not be broken up by emancipation, proclamation, bayonets, or constitutional amendments, but by the Freedmen's Aid Society, and other educational societies.[245] General Cyrus Bussey stated in 1883 that "I believe firmly that there never would have been a rebellion if the people of the Southern States had been as well informed as the people of the North."[246]

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[241] Northwestern Christian Advocate, March 27, 1895.
[242] Ibid., January 1, 1896.

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[243] The Christian Educator (January, 1894), pp. 55-56.
[244] Report of the F. A. S., 1871, p. 4.
[245] Ibid., 1877, p. 28.
[246] Hartzell, J. C., Christian Educators in Council, p. 211.

The Methodist educators denied that their schools in the South were strongholds of political activities, but affirmed that they were in the region with the aim of carrying the Gospel to a heathen race.[247] Although they were opposed in many sections of the Southern states, Bishop Janes pointed out that the time would come when the South would approve of the activities of the Freedmen's Aid Society.[248] When the charge was made that the Methodist school teacher went to the South after the Civil War with hatred in his heart, Dr. Townsend of Boston University flatly denied the charge, and informed the critics that they were in that country "not for hatred,--but because they loved him for whom Christ died and . . . because God commanded them to discharge this duty."[249] Realizing that the Methodist Episcopal Church was opposed by some Southerners, the Reverend G. W. Gray attempted to make clear the mission of that Church. He said:

> We are in the South as a Church, not because we are wanted, but because we are needed. We are in the South, not because it is a foreign land, but because it is our land. We are in the South, not because of any special love for the society of the ignorant and social outcast, but because we are members of the same royal family. We are not in the South because we were invited, but because we heard the voice of the Captain of our salvation saying, 'Go!' and 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'"[250]

Although Dr. Daniel Curry, as editor of The Christian Advocate, had much to say about reconstructing the Southern rebels in the 1860's, in the following decade he avowed that the Methodist Episcopal Church went into the South "not to destroy, nor to antagonize, nor to proselyte, but to do good to the needy."[251] Other Methodists were advocates of the educational work because of its advantage to the Church in establishing itself in the South. One correspondent informed the Methodists of the North that "our educational work in the South is vital to our footing and power in that land. The college and seminary are our castles and armories, every where."[252] Some were of the belief that the Methodist Episcopal Church was "divinely commissioned to go into all parts of the world and make Christians" out of all people, and this commission included the Southern states as well as the foreign lands.[253] The Methodist Episcopal Church in the South was looked upon by many as an intruder as late as 1895, but the editor of The Christian Educator declared that its presence was entirely in harmony with the Discipline of the Church and the spirit of Methodism.[254]

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[247] Report of the F. A. S., 1877, p. 26.
[248] Ibid., 1872, p. 34.
[249] Ibid., 1875, p. 85.
[250] Ibid., 1888, p. 57.

In the last decade of the century, the leaders of the Freedmen's Aid Society were still of the belief that the efforts of the Society were needed in the South. Although the Methodists of the North had expended a vast amount of money in Negro education, and some had begun to express the opinion that the work of the Church among the Negroes had come to an end, the leaders of Methodist Negro education still urged support of the enterprise. Dr. J. W. Hamilton stated in 1894 that the country had abandoned the Negro to the Christian Church and "it is our business to look after him."[255] On another occasion he wrote of the continued need of the Society in the South, asserting that the Southern Churches had abandoned the Negro, and the time had not arrived when the Negro could care for himself. "The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society," he declared, was "as much needed in the South as Commodore Perry in the Philippines."[256] Although some of the leaders of the movement in the 1860's believed that the work of the Society in the South would be unnecessary when the Southern states assumed responsibility for public education, those in command of the Society in the last decade of the century held that the importance and necessity of the Methodist schools would not diminish in proportion as the public schools developed in the South.[257] In 1891 the report of the Society declared that the "great mass of the colored people in the South are yet in their wilderness march toward a better Canaan."[258] In 1892, the Reverend J. S. Chadwick, an officer of the Society, announced that "We have not gotten far enough from the era of the Southern master to abandon the freed and enfranchised black man to the limited facilities of the South for his culture and Christian development." He admitted that there were a few Southern people who were friends of the Negro race, but added that "only in easily counted numbers are they the well-wishers and contributors to the aspirations of the blacks."[259]

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[251] Ibid., 1873, p. 8.
[252] Western Christian Advocate, April 22, 1874.
[253] The Christian Educator (February-March, 1895), pp. 7-8.
[254] Loc. cit.

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[255] Hamilton to W. Nichols, October 25, 1894, Hamilton Papers.
[256] The Christian Educator (April-May, 1898), pp. 81-85.
[257] The Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1891, pp. 146-147; Minutes of the General Committee of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, 1898, p. 131.
[258] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1891, pp. 139-140.
[259] The Christian Educator (January, 1892), p. 334.

At the General Conference of 1896, the Committee on the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society reported that the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South had just begun, and the Church was in that section of the country to stay.[260] "There is just one thing for our Church to do in the South," said Bishop Mallalieu, "and that is to hold fast to all that it has attained, and push its work in all directions."[261] The New England Conference in 1895 adopted a resolution for continued loyalty to the Negro cause,[262] and in 1897 deplored the apathy which had crept over the Church in regard to the educational program among the Negroes, and pledged its support to combat the efforts of the South to degrade the black race.[263] Writing to a worker of the Church in Louisiana, who became anxious concerning the continued support of the Church, Dr. J. C. Hartzell said: "This is no time for the Methodist Episcopal Church to be talking about retreating anywhere, or turning the cold shoulder to any of her children, no matter what their race or condition. We must go steadily on, and by so doing we shall have the continued blessing of our heavenly Father."[264] Pointing to the successful effort of the Church among the Freedmen, the Committee on the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society at the General Conference of 1892 reported that the "border line . . . has steadily moved toward the Gulf of Mexico for twenty-seven years. Let it move on until all opposition shall cease and the song of a triumphant and unified Methodism shall along all shores blend with the murmuring waves of the gulf and the roar of the oceans."[265]

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[260] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1896, p. 413.
[261] The Christian Educator (January, 1892), p. 317.
[262] Ibid., (December-January, 1895-1896), pp. 13-15.
[263] Ibid., (April-May, 1897), pp. 75-76.
[264] Hartzell to Rev. D. M. Seals, August 22, 1892. Hartzell Papers.

During the first year following the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society, Dr. John M. Walden, as Corresponding Secretary, and Dr. Richard S. Rust as Field Superintendent, prosecuted their respective duties with unremitted diligence, and by the close of this year the Society had laid the foundations for its work in the South, and its importance was gradually recognized throughout the Methodist Episcopal Church. The relations of the Society to the Church were changed before the close of the second year. Prior to the session of the General Conference of 1868, the Freedmen's Aid Society had no official connection to the Church. It depended, in large measure, upon the recommendation of the bishops and the good-will of the Annual Conferences for financial support. On April 25, 1868, the Board of Managers of the Society, by resolution, placed its affairs at the disposal of the General Conference, requesting such action, as, in its judgment, would subserve the best interest of the Freedmen.[266]

While the subject of the Freedmen's Aid Society was before the General Conference of 1868, the question of uniting it with the Missionary and other Societies was considered, but because of the character and relations of its work, such union was not ordered. The status of the Society for the next four years was fixed by the General Conference by the adoption of the following resolutions:

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[265] **Journal** of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1892, p. 485.
[266] Report of the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1876, p. 5.

> 1. Resolved, By the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that we hereby recognize the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and sanction its organization and approve of its objects, and earnestly commend it to the liberal support of our people everywhere, and to the co-operation of our ministers and members in the South.
> 2. Resolved, That we commend our Annual Conferences to place this Society on the list of annual collections, and urge our ministers to use their influence to secure to it all the contributions of our people designed to promote the specific work in which it is engaged.
> 3. Resolved, That the Bishops are hereby authorized to appoint a Traveling Preacher as the Corresponding Secretary of this Society.[267]

This recognition of the Society gave a fresh impulse to the work. Dr. R. S. Rust was chosen Corresponding Secretary by the bishops, thus succeeding Dr. Walden in this position. Rust was admirably fitted for the educational work among the Negroes. He was early in life identified with the anti-slavery movement in the North. He was a graduate of Wesleyan University, and as a student in that institution before the Civil War, participated in anti-slavery activities and assisted in the organization of the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society. These activities caused him to be mobbed by the opponents of the anti-slavery movement in that state. Some time later, Rust organized the first Ladies Anti-Slavery State Fair in Connecticut. After his graduation from the university, he served for a time as State Superintendent of Education in New Hampshire, and then entered the itinerant ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. After serving as the president of Wilberforce University for four years, Rust became interested in the undenominational movement for the education of the "contrabands" in the South, and this interest eventually led him into the educational activities of the Methodist Episcopal Church in that region. As Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, Dr. Rust purchased school property in the South, selected and appointed teachers, and became personally responsible for many financial liabilities of the Society in the early years of its organization. He served the Society for twenty-six years in this office, and more than any other one man was responsible for the development of the educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South.[268]

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[267] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1868, p. 573.

The General Conference of 1868 did not suppose that the Society would be a permanent institution. To the mind of the committee to whom its affairs were referred, it had sprung into existence to meet an emergency that was temporary. In its report the Committee on Freedmen said:

> When the Southern States are fully reconstructed, and a wise common school-system is established, and a returning prosperity shall enable the maintenance of free schools, the work of this Society may possibly be superceded. If so, its existence need only be temporary, and hence its permanent incorporation is not now required, but it should be properly recognized by the General Conference, and receive its sanction and approval.[269]

It was afterward found necessary to plan for permanent work in the South, and it eventually became one of the organizations of the Church.

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[268] The Christian Educator (January, 1891), pp. 45-46.
[269] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1868, p. 572.

Before the close of the second year of the activities of the Freedmen's Aid Society, the Managers perceived that any attempt of the organization to educate the masses of Negroes in the South would be futile, and as a consequence the general policy of the organization was directed toward the planting of schools for the preparation of teachers and preachers for the race, among their own people.[270] The plan of establishing, at eligible points in each state, one or more training schools was carried forward between the years 1867 to 1872, and real estate for this purpose was purchased and secured to the Society.[271] Schools were not planted in all the Southern states in the period up until 1872, but a substantial and far-reaching work was initiated. The receipts of the Society from the close of the first year to February 1st, 1872, amounted to $277,968.66; the number of teachers employed during the years 1868-1872, averaged ninety per year, and an average of eight thousand pupils were under their instruction each year.[272]

The acquisition of real estate in the South made it necessary for the Society to have a corporate existence, and in pursuance with the regular action of the Board of Managers meeting in November, 1870, a legal incorporation was effected under the general laws of the state of Ohio.[273]

In 1872, a memorial, signed by the Board of Directors of the

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[270] Report of the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1876, pp. 4-5.
[271] Ibid., pp. 5-6.
[272] Ibid., p. 6.
[273] Ibid., p. 6.

Freedmen's Aid Society, asking that the Society might be received into full connection, placed under the jurisdiction of the General Conference, and welcomed to all the advantages the Church might afford, was presented to the General Conference.

Among the reasons for such action, the following were submitted:

> 1. The Society has performed a great and good work with a small amount of money. 2. The Society was called into existence for the performance of a work essential to the success of our Church enterprise in the South, and which did not legitimately come within the province of any of our benevolent enterprises. 3. The efficiency of this Society would be greatly increased by its recognition. 4. The Government, which at the beginning, gave liberal appropriations to the educational work among the freedmen, does not now furnish any assistance in the support of our schools. 5. Permanence and stability would be secured to our educational interests. 6. The liberality and exertion of other Churches in this cause, should incite us to greater diligence and enlarged benevolence. In conclusion . . . in a work like this, which is manifestly similar to that to which Methodism was originally called by providential agency, it is not enough that our missionary appropriations equal those of other denominations. It becomes us, in view of our history, numbers, wealth, professions, and facilities, to lead the hosts of God's people in establishing schools and colleges, erecting churches, and in doing all that is needed for the evangelization of this impoverished people.[274]

After some deliberation of the memorial submitted by the leaders of the Society, the General Conference Committee on Freedmen recommended to the Conference the following action, which was adopted:

> Resolved, That the prayer of the memorialists

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[274] Report of the F. A. S., 1873, p. 36.

> for the official recognition of the Freedmen's Aid Society be granted, and that said Society be, and hereby is, recognized as a regular constituted Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . .[275]

Stating that no organization in the Methodist Episcopal Church met the need for special educational work among the Freedmen, the Committee on Freedmen at the General Conference of 1872 drew up a constitution for the Society which was adopted by the body. The constitution is as follows:

Article I.

> This organization shall be known as the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Article II.

> Its object shall be to labor for the education and special aid of freedmen and others, especially in co-operation with the Missionary and Church Extension Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Article III.

> The contribution of one dollar during any year, and attendance at the annual meeting, shall constitute a member of this Society.
> Any person contributing twenty dollars ($20.) to its treasury, shall be an honorary member; any person contributing one hundred dollars ($100) shall be an honorary manager; any person contributing five hundred dollars ($500) shall be a patron.

Article IV.

> Sec. 1. There shall be a Board of Managers, consisting of one minister and one layman from each of the mission districts, appointed quadrennially by the General Conference, on the nomination of the delegates of the annual conferences within said districts respectively.

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[275] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1872, p. 300.

Sec. 2. The Board of Managers shall, during the session of the General Conference by which they are appointed, organize by the election of a President, one or more Vice-Presidents, and a Recording Secretary, who shall also be officers of the Society. And they shall at the same time, and annually thereafter, elect an Executive Committee of nine persons, the majority of whom shall reside in the city of Cincinnati, to which Committee the business of the Society shall be intrusted during the interim between the meetings of the Board. The members of the Executive Committee and the Board of Managers, and all officers of the Society, shall hold their office until their successors are appointed.

Article V.

Sec. 1. The General Conference, at each of its sessions, shall elect a Corresponding Secretary for the term of four years, whose office shall be in the city of Cincinnati, and who shall be a member _ex officio_ of the Executive Committee. In the event of a vacancy, this office shall be filled by the Board of Managers.

Sec. 2. The Agent of the Western Methodist Book Concern shall be the Treasurer, with such Assistant Treasurers as the Executive Committee may designate.

Sec. 3. The Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer shall annually make an exhibit of the transactions and condition of the Society to the annual conferences, and a Quadrennial Report to the General Conference.

Article VI.

There shall be an annual meeting of the Society at such time and place as the Executive Committee shall determine, and also of the Board of Managers at the same time and place, for the election of officers and the transaction of other business, to which an exhibit of the transactions of the Executive Committee shall be presented.

Article VII.

The General Conference shall have the power to amend this Constitution by a majority vote.[276]

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[276] _Report of the F. A. S._, 1873, pp. 36-38.

The Committee on Freedmen at the General Conference of 1872 made recommendations that the *Discipline* of the Church be changed so as to accommodate the needs of the Society, and make its demands binding as far as Church law was concerned. These suggestions finally took form in the following disciplinary requirements:

> *Duty of the Members.* First. Let *all* our people contribute. Second. Let them contribute *liberally*. Third. Let them contribute *each year*.
> *Duty of the Society.* First. Locate its schools where they will be of most advantage to our Churches and missions. Second. Especially seek to educate those persons who are called to preach, or who propose to become teachers. Third. Let only those persons be employed as teachers who will conscientiously work in our Sunday-schools, and cheerfully co-operate with our ministers.
> *Duty of the Board of Managers.* It shall determine what amount shall be expended annually in this work and apportion the same, according to their best judgment, among the several annual conferences.
> *Duty of the Annual Conferences.* Each annual conference shall apportion, or cause to be apportioned, the amount assigned to it, among the circuits and stations within its bounds.
> *Duty of Presiding Elders.* Each presiding elder, as early in the conference year as possible, shall inform each quarterly conference in his district of the amount to be raised by the charge it represents.
> *Duty of the Preachers.* It shall be the duty of each preacher to present this subject to his congregation, or cause it to be presented, once each year, in a sermon or address; to aid in the diffusion of intelligence in regard to the work of the Society and the wants of the freedmen; and to use due diligence to collect the amount apportioned to his charge. He shall report to the annual conference the sum collected.[277]

In 1873 the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church singled out the Freedmen's Aid Society from among all the benevolent institutions of the Church, as specially demanding notice, which is significant of the esteem by which the new Society had come to be held among the Northern Methodists. It is quoted here to indicate the importance of the Society to the Church program in the South:

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[277] *R. of F. A. S.*, 1873, pp. 40-41; *Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church*, 1872, p. 412.

> Dear Brethren of the Ministry and of the Church:
> We desire to call your especial attention to the educational work inaugurated in the South, and prosecuted with so much success by our Freedmen's Aid Society. We are profoundly impressed with the conviction that the great and pressing want of our evangelizing movements in the South at the present time lies in this direction, and comes within the scope of this Society. Without a generous cultivation of this department of labor in the South, our missionary and Church extension movements must be greatly retarded. This Society, indeed, supplements those other great societies of the Church, by furnishing men to preach the Gospel who can read and expound the Scriptures and defend the doctrine and polity of our Church. Upon men trained more or less in our own schools in the South must depend the progress and permanency of our work there. With doctrines so highly prized by this people, we must have ministers that can intelligently explain and defend them.
>
> We fear our Church has not hitherto duly appreciated or properly sustained this educational work. We wish it were possible to give to our ministers and people a full view of the peculiar conditions and wants of this race, such a view as presents itself to us when actually visiting and laboring among them. We are sure such a picture would draw forth from our people a liberality and extent of giving which they have not yet thought of.
>
> The Freedmen's Aid Society has thus far accomplished a noble work with the funds placed at its disposal; but these have been small in amount and entirely inadequate to the vastness of the field to be cultivated and the urgency of its early culture. Education, so essential every-where to success, is especially demanded in the South, and the Church that fails to give a thorough elementary training to her ministers, must of necessity peril her permanency and usefulness. The children and youth are receiving, to some extent, an education in the public and private schools in these states; illiterate men can no longer minister to these people; they must have men that at least can read

and write and speak with some degree of accuracy, and who can intelligently expound the Holy Scriptures and explain our doctrines and usages.

The Society whose interests we plead, is now almost entirely directing its attention to the establishment and support of schools in central localities for the preparation of teachers and preachers. It sustains at present fifteen of these normal-schools. There should be one within the bounds of every Southern Conference. It is estimated by the secretary that more than two thousand are in attendance at the schools now established, preparing themselves to preach and teach. Hundreds have already entered upon their work, and others will rapidly follow. This people can best be educated and brought to Christ by properly trained teachers and preachers of their own race. Out of our normal and Biblical schools these teachers and preachers must come. We must aid them liberally for a few years, and then, we doubt not, they will be able to carry forward the work for themselves.

We feel assured that no society in our Church has accomplished greater good, with an equal amount of funds, and none has at the present time a more urgent claim upon the liberality and prayers of our people, Just at this moment the demand is pressing. We ought immediately to establish two schools in Texas, one in Florida, another in North Carolina, and others elsewhere. It is almost impossible to rent buildings for these purposes, but they can be purchased at very reasonable rates. The Society can multiply its powers for good almost indefinitely, if the Church will only furnish it the means; but it dare not go beyond the funds which are placed at its disposal. The opportune moment is now. Money given to this cause will accomplish vastly more than it can at a later period. The future of this people in the South, and their relation to us, depend upon the liberality and vigorous action of the present. May God give us grace to seize upon opportunity!

The late General Conference placed this Society among the benevolent associations of the Church, and made it the duty of each pastor to present the claims of this enterprise to his people, and to take a collection in its behalf. In view of the urgent calls upon the Society for new schools, and for the support and enlargement of the old ones, permit us to urge an early discharge of this duty upon all our preachers, and to exhort our people to generous giving on its behalf. Could every member of our Church be induced to contribute something,

> and those possessing wealth to give liberally to this important enterprise, the Society could speedily put into the field a corps of teachers and preachers whose power would be felt through the generations to come.[278]

The action of the General Conference of 1872, which constituted the Freedmen's Aid Society as one of the benevolent organizations of the Church, the insertion in the Discipline of laws referring directly to the society and calling attention to its work as one of the definite obligations of the ministry and membership, and the bishops appeal in its behalf, marked a new era in the financial status of the Society. Following these events, the income of the Society rose in ten years from $51,568, in 1872, to $157,003 in 1882-1883.[279] The receipts from the Church increased steadily from the time of the organization of the Society until the close of the century. During the first quadrennium, (1866-1870), the Society received support from the Freedmen's Bureau, and the marked decline in income in this period was due to the loss of contributions by this agency. The total amount of receipts and expenditures of the Freedmen's Aid Society in the educational program in the South from 1866 to 1899, is shown in the following graph:

1866-1870	$ 262,113.74,	includes Freedmen's Bureau receipts.	
1870-1875	241,151.00.	Decrease in 4 yrs. of	$20,962.74.
1875-1879	264,023.00.	Increase " " " "	22,872.00.
1879-1883	403,858.00.	" " " " "	139,835.00.
1883-1887	624,000.26.	" " " " "	220,142.26.
1887-1891	981,197.18.	" " " " "	357,196.92.

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[278] Report of the F. A. S., 1873, pp. 3-5.

[279] Report of the F. A. S., 1888, p. 10.

		Increase in 4 yrs. of	
1891-1895	$1,242,619.10.	" " " " "	$261,421.92.
1895-1899	1,130,400.20.	Decrease " " " "	112,218.90.[280]

Adding the amount of indebtedness of the Society in 1899, which came to a total of $154,478.98, to the above receipts, this organization which started with $1,500 of borrowed money had spent during these years, $5,303,841.46, in the educational program of the Church in the Southern states.

Although the Freedmen's Aid Society spent a considerable sum of money during these years in the support of its educational program, it is not to be supposed that the Church considered the Society as the most important among its benevolent agencies. According to the reports of the secretaries of the Society, the Church as a whole never supported it in anything like the extent to which the needs presented themselves. Two years after the Society was organized, Dr. R. S. Rust, the General Superintendent, announced in The Christian Advocate that he received daily appeals for assistance from the South, and "by a strange Providence the daily mails also bring us offers of well-qualified teachers for our work, who write, 'Here I am, send me.'" After declaring that there were numerous openings in the South for usefulness, and plenty of applicants to occupy them, he said: "the funds for their support are wanting. We can not send teachers on this warfare at their own expense. Will the Church in her abundance withhold the necessary amount demanded for this work?"[281] Dr. Daniel Curry stated in 1873: "Our Southern work is one of very great extent and of deep interest: much more so, we think, than is properly appreciated among us."[282] A laxity on the part of the ministers of the Church toward the needs of the Society was reported in 1874. In the previous year the Society fixed the amount at $100,000 as necessary for the prosecution of its program in the South, but the Church failed to raise this amount and the Society incurred at debt of $17,000. The report of the Society suggested that if the bishops and preachers would "take this holy cause to their hearts the Church would respond."[283] In that same year, the Managers of the Society revealed the fact that the contributions from the Church to the Missionary Society amounted to 10½ cents per member, while the Freedmen's Aid Society received only four cents per member. To the Society it did not prove that "we Methodists have deliberately and intelligently weighed our responsibilities. . . . It indicates, rather, that the claims of the Freedmen's Aid Society have not been brought before our people with sufficient clearness, fullness, and frequency."[284]

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[280] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1900, pp. 758-759. (After 1888, when the Society enlarged its work of education so as to include the poor whites of the South, the expenditures shown above include moneys spent for this purpose. But the schools for the whites received a small share of the total expenditures. The bulk of the total expenditures went to the Negro schools.)

The apathy of many of the Methodist churches in the North in regard to the claims of the Freedmen's Aid Society was reported to be startling. Although the Church law as stated in the Discipline required every Methodist minister to present the claims of the Society each year and take a collection in its behalf, only one-half of them took the appointed collection in 1875. Commenting upon this neglect, Dr. Townsend of Boston, declared that it was "evidence that the Spirit of Christ no longer burns upon their altars."[285] In 1877, the Reverend Ira Bidwell of Buffalo, declared that the failure of one-half of the pastors of the Church to take a collection for the Society was "the ministerial scandal of the past year."[286] In 1878, 3,250 Methodist churches did not take the collection for the Society as ordered by the General Conference.[287] The interest in the welfare of the Negro in the New England Conference had reached such a low ebb in 1879 that forty per cent of the charges took no collection for the Freedmen's Aid Society.[288] Although the Negroes of the South had contributed liberally to the support of the schools of the Society, a movement in the Tennessee Conference in 1880 was reported to have decreased the contributions of its members. A correspondent disclosed the fact that at the session of the Conference in November, 1880, "quite an animated discussion sprang up on the subject of secret benevolent societies, which have multiplied to an extent among the colored people, that their demands on the time and money of the members of the Church is such as to seriously interfere with their religious duties."[289] The Annual Conferences of the Church in 1881 raised only $44,258.63 for the work among the Freedmen yet the officials of the Society raised $49,117.89 from other sources. Over one-fourth of the churches did not take a collection for the Society in that year.[290]

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[281] The Christian Advocate, March 12, 1868.
[282] Report of the F. A. S., 1873, p. 6.
[283] Ibid., 1874, p. 18.
[284] Ibid., pp. 16-17.

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[285] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, p. 70.
[286] Ibid., 1877, p. 38.
[287] Ibid., 1878, p. 20.
[288] Ibid., 1880, pp. 39-41.
[289] Western Christian Advocate, November 24, 1880.

This financial situation continued to hamper the work of the Freedmen's Aid Society from 1880 to 1900. In the 1880's the Methodist Episcopal Church undertook the task of raising $1,000,000 for foreign missions. Bishop McCabe's slogan "a million for missions" was followed by an appeal to the Church for $250,000 for the Freedmen's Aid Society. The contrast between the two sums for benevolent purposes caused one writer to remark:

> It is astonishing what narrow views many in the Church and ministry take of the relative importance of the Freedmen's Aid Society compared with our other benevolences. In 1884 there were over 1,700,000 Church members, all of whom are pledged to support the Gospel and our associated benevolences. The whole amount contributed for eight causes was $1,118,862, being an average of only about 67 cents per member. This distribution of this amount, as gathered from the General Minutes of 1884, is a curious comment in the intelligence of the contributors; Missionary, $660,701; Woman's Missionary, $127,586; Church Extension, $120,116; Tract and Sunday schools, $31,255; Freedmen's Aid, $58,734; Education, $90,741; Bible cause, $29,747.[291]

The contrast, according to this commentator, was so great that Freedmen's Aid Society received only three cents per member, while the missionary cause received forty cents. In 1881, the contributions of the Church to the Missionary Society were reported to be "booming" while the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society was languishing for funds. In a letter to Reverend J. H. Potts, of Detroit, Dr. J. C. Hartzell, secretary of the Freedmen's Society, wrote:

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[290] Report of the F. A. S., 1881, p. 30.

[291] Western Christian Advocate, October 21, 1885.

> This unfair advantage is not given to any one society in any other Protestant church. The boom for missions by that society is, of course, all right, but with the overwhelming advantage which it has in Teaching the Churches, there is no doubt but that other collections have suffered seriously as a result. . . . I have been refused admission to Churches, scores of times, in the last four years, because the presiding elder and pastor had determined that, whatever should be done, the Mission boom should be carried. I have some cases in mind now where I have gone and taken a collection, and a large portion of the money that I raised was afterward used to make up a big showing for Missions. . . . It should be regarded for a man to raise his share of a quarter of a million for this educational work in the South as to do his share of a million for Missions. . . . The Detroit Conference last year raised for Missions $13,937 and for Freedmen's Aid, $1,069, and for Church Extension, $1,268. Either the estimates of the Church of the relative importance of these causes is wrong, or else the pastors do not recognize the judgment of the General Conference and the Bishops and the various Boards of management of the societies with equal regard.[292]

In 1897, eight thousand churches of the Methodist Episcopal Church took no collection for the support of the educational work in the South, which forced the Society to rely upon the other eight thousand churches for loyal support. The Reverend J. W. Hamilton, secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society at that time, informed a member of the Church of this fact, and stated: "There is yet so much prejudice to be overcome that the Preachers are not always fair to us in presenting the cause."[293] Later in the year he reported that the "machinery of the Church is all in the hands of the Missionary Society, and our Society has been crowded to the wall."[294] Toward the close of the century many members of the Church were of the impression that the Negroes of the South were of the same financial circumstances as the whites. Hamilton asserted that many in the Methodist Church thought the public school system in the South amply provided for the educational need of the Negroes, and "that there is not any need for money for the Freedemen's Aid Society." "I have scores of letters," he stated, "to this effect in the office."[295] Many of the Conferences of the Church responded nobly to the program of the Freedmen's Aid Society in the South, but in 1898 Hamilton reported that the Philadelphia, Central Pennsylvania, Newark, New Jersey, Wyoming, New York, New York East, Troy, Northern New York, and Central New York Conferences had been particularly lax in their support of the organization.[296]

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[292] Hartzell to Potts, August 23, 1888. Hartzell Papers.

[293] Hamilton to Mr. R. Brown, June 4, 1897. Hamilton Papers.

[294] Hamilton to Rev. J. R. Thompson, October 29, 1897. Hamilton Papers.

During the period from 1866 to 1900, the work of the Society had been confronted with imperative demands for buildings and school facilities throughout the South far beyond its annual income. In its endeavor to secure strategic points in the South for its schools, the Society had incurred a debt on July 1, 1891 of $132,318.[297] The financial panic of the 1890's added to the distress of the Society and the apathy of some of the Conferences toward raising money for the enterprise, caused serious misgivings among the officers of the organization. Dr. J. C. Hartzell, Corresponding Secretary, wrote to a friend and declared: "We are literally between the upper and nether mill-stone, the cry from the South for help and the cry of poverty from the North. I do hope and pray that relief may come soon."[298] Some Northern Methodists suggested that the Society sell some of its real estate in the South to pay off its indebtedness, but this advice was rejected. Its real estate holdings at that time was evaluated at $1,808,800.[299] By 1895 the indebtedness of the Society had mounted to $185,309.40, an increase of $53,072 in four years.[300] The Committee on the Society at the General Conference of 1896 recommended a practice of rigid economy in all departments of the work in the South, and more co-operation from the Conferences of the Church in presenting the claims of the Society.[301] In 1898, due to the decrease in funds from the Church, the General Committee of the Society resolved "that we should withdraw from all weak and dying schools, especially where said schools are poorly located and have a circumscribed territory with an unpromising future."[302] In that year the debt of the Freedmen's Aid Society had reached $250,000, and Dr. J. W. Hamilton reported that "the debt is now so much that we can hardly get money enough voted by our Board now to pay our current expenses."[303]

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[295] Hamilton to Bishop W. F. Mallalieu, May 6, 1898. Hamilton Papers.
[296] Hamilton to Rev. J. B. Hamilton, April 15, 1898. Hamilton Papers.
[297] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1892, p. 695; Ibid., p. 482.

Following the payment of the indebtedness of the Missionary Society in 1898, the Freedmen's Aid Society called upon the Church to assist in the payment of its indebtedness.[304] During the next year, the bishops of the Church made an appeal to the membership for one million dollars for the Freedmen's Aid Society. Eight hundred thousand dollars of the sum was intended for an endowment fund for the schools in the South.[305] This entire amount was not raise for the Society by the Church, and not until 1918 did the Society free itself from debt.[306]

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[298] Hartzell to Rev. J. Braden, November 22, 1894. Hartzell Papers.
[299] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1892, p. 694.
[300] Ibid., 1896, p. 718.
[301] Ibid., p. 411.
[302] Minutes of the General Committee of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, 1898, p. 132.
[303] Hamilton to Rev. F. M. Pavey, 1897. Hamilton Papers.
[304] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1898, pp. 42, 43.

The Negroes of the South gave of their scanty funds to support the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society throughout the history of the organization. So eager were they to secure the advantages of education, the Society received some aid from them immediately following the Civil War. The report of 1870 stated:

> They have aided liberally in building churches, erecting school-houses, sustaining teachers, supporting the aged and infirm, and providing homes. It is wonderful with what clearness they recognize the importance of schools and churches to their highest usefulness and happiness. The colored people during the past year have contributed fourteen thousand dollars to the schools under our care, and the next year they will, without doubt, double the amount. They board the teacher and meet the incidental expenses of the school, while the Society pays the salary and traveling expenses; so that nearly one-half of the cost is sustained by them, and in some instances nearly two-thirds of it.[307]

In the last decade of the century, self help among the Negroes was reported to be increasing, and the Society received still larger amounts for the support of their schools. In addition to gifts of money to individual schools, the Negro Conferences of the Church in the South in 1897 contributed $19,410 to the Freedmen's Aid Society, and $14,584 to the Woman's Home Missionary Society. The latter Society sustained industrial homes for Negro girls in most of the Negro schools, and therefore can be considered as a contribution to education.[308] This willingness to express gratitude for the work of the Society among them, was considered to be one of the most promising results of the Southern educational program.[309]

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[305] The Christian Educator (April-May), 1899, pp. 101-102.
[306] Report of the F. A. S., 1917-18, p. 8.
[307] Report of the F. A. S., 1870, p. 12.

After fourteen years of educational work in the South among the Negroes the Freedmen's Aid Society, by the authority of the General Conference of 1880 extended its work to the poor whites of that region. The General Conference instructed the Society to aid schools for whites providing that it could do so without embarrassment to its work among the Freedmen.[310] Prior to this time, however, a small beginning had been made in the education of the whites in East Tennessee. The East Tennessee Wesleyan University was established in 1865 at Athens, Tennessee, by the Holston Conference of the Northern Methodist Church, "to meet the wants of the whites of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South."[311] During the first year of its existence the college enrolled eighty-six students. In 1867, the title of the college was changed to the East Tennessee Wesleyan University, and by 1876 the student body had grown to 190 scholars.[312]

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[308] The Christian Educator (December-January, 1898-99), p. 21.
[309] Ibid., (April-May, 1898), p. 96.
[310] Report of the F. A. S., 1881, p. 36.
[311] Simpson, op. cit., p. 323.
[312] Ibid., pp. 323-324.

Among the reasons given for the extension of the work to the whites are the following:

> 1. The ability of the Society in the management of Colored schools. 2. No other organization in the Church could see its way clear to render the necessary aid to the white members of the Church in the South. 3. There was opposition in the Church to the formation of a new society to prosecute this work. 4. The inauguration of this work saved thousands of whites who would otherwise have gone, some to non-Methodistic communions, and others to the world. 5. The work among the whites has greatly aided in promoting the work among the colored people. 6. The continuation of our work among the whites in the South is important, if not necessary, to the continued existence of our Church in the South. 7. If the ground that we have gained in the South were once yielded, it would be impossible ever to recover it. 8. Should the Methodist Episcopal Church fail to push forward its work among both races in the South, without any assurance that its mission would be accomplished by any other Church, it would show itself conquered by sectionalism, and not sectionalism by it.[313]

At the session of the General Conference of 1888, the name of the Freedmen's Aid Society was changed to "The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society," in order to include the work among the Southern whites.[314] Although some success was realized in this enterprise among the whites of the South, it was never as successful as the educational work among the Negroes. Bishop R. S. Foster of the Methodist Episcopal Church was opposed to the work among the whites. He wrote a book entitled "The Union of Episcopal Methodism," in which the educational activities of the Church among the Southern whites was condemned. The officers of the Freedmen's Aid Society charged Bishop Foster with a misunderstanding of the program of the Church in the South, and made excuses for him on the grounds that "his early training, as well as his instincts, were Southern, and gives to his thinking a bias in the discussion of the Southern problem."[315] Dr. George W. Gray stated in 1892 that he "could as effectively hold a Conference in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as in ours. His positions are so well understood by that Church that he would be as cordially received by the preachers of that Church as his own in the North."[316] The Northern leaders charged that Foster received his information on the "Southern problem" from the members of the Southern Methodist Church, and he had the tendency to look at the work from their standpoint. "Instead of consulting with our own people," Gray declared, "he counsels with those opposed to us and the work carried on by our Church among the whites. What he says should be studied in the light of these facts."[317] Dr. J. C. Hartzell informed the Church that Bishop Foster, who was Southern born, could not be held responsible for his objections to the white work in the South, for it was only the "remnants of his 'Old Kentucky Home.'"[318]

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[313] Report of the F. A. S., 1881, pp. 36-40.
[314] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1888, p. 701.

By 1900, the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society had established three collegiate institutions and twenty-three academies for the whites of the Southern states, in which 4,083 students were accommodated. In 1908, the General Conference of the Methodist

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[315] The Christian Educator (April, 1892), p. 364.
[316] Ibid., p. 365.
[317] Ibid.
[318] The Christian Educator (January, 1893), p. 76.

Episcopal Church placed the educational work among the whites of the South under the direction of the Board of Education of the Church, and the Society regained its former name.[319]

Little has been said thus far about the teachers who taught in the Negro schools following the Civil War. A great deal of the success of the Freedmen's schools can be attributed to the character and motives of the majority of these idealistic individuals who faced the vast problem of assisting in the education of 4,000,000 freed slaves. They nourished an intense faith in the powers of education, especially the New England type of education, as the builder of character. They went into the South feeling that they were partaking in the prosecution of the struggle against the effects of slavery and in the salvation of a benighted race. The anti-slavery agitation in the North had fired the minds of these teachers with a spiritual ardor which compelled them into this enterprise.

A great many of the early teachers among the Freedmen were products of the Northern and Eastern colleges. Augustus F. Beard, of the Yale Class of 1857, was employed by the American Missionary Association as its general field agent for the location of schools among the colored people. Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a graduate of Williams College in 1862, left the Union army to establish Hampton Institute in Virginia. Edmund Asa Ware and Horace Brumstead of the Yale Class of 1863, were instrumental in the establishment of a higher institution of learning for the Negroes in Atlanta. Helen

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[319] Report of the F. A. S., 1908, p. 6.

Clarissa Morgan, a graduate of Oberlin College, went to Fisk University to teach Latin, when the classroom was a dirt-floored barrack room abandoned by the Union army. General O. O. Howard, a graduate of Bowdoin in 1850, had personal direction of thousands of common schools for the Negroes as the director of the Freedmen's Bureau, and in 1869 founded Howard University, at Washington, D. C.[320] In 1868, the Reverend L. N. Brakeman, of Louisiana, reported that "Brother M. Wright, son of one of our New England Methodist preachers, and a graduate of Yale College, assisted by his wife, is teaching here and receiving partial support from our Freedmen's Aid Society at Cincinnati. He has done and is still doing an excellent work. He has over 200 scholars on his rolls, a number of whom are well advanced in their studies."[321] Early in the history of the Freedmen's Aid Society, Bishop Gilbert Haven wrote a tract on the schools of the South, and had this to say of the teachers:

> Who are these teachers? You hear no good word as to our workers in this field. They are all cursed with approbrious epithets. . . . Here are graduates of Middletown (Wesleyan University); of Delaware (Ohio Wesleyan University), to one of whom she gave last year the title of Doctor of Divinity; of Indiana Asbury; of Evanston (Northwestern University); of the State University of Wisconsin, in which college one held a place as instructor after his graduation, a high approval of the faculty; of the Boston School of Theology, and of many other institutions. . . . This is the class of men and women, who can command good salaries in the North, that are working for their bread among these downtrodden brethren.[322]

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[320] Bond, Horace, M., The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, (New York, 1934), pp. 358-359.

[321] Northwestern Christian Advocate, April 15, 1868.

[322] Prentice, op. cit., p. 459.

Bishop Atticus Haygood of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, wrote to the editor of the Northwestern Christian Advocate in 1896 and stated that among the Freedmen's Aid Society schools, "are many of the best teachers in the United States. In these schools I have met and honored many of the noblest graduates, from Harvard and Wellesley down."[323] Some of the people in the North indulged in the reflection, when the missionary work was begun in the South, that this was an opportunity to employ "such material as was not quite good enough to use at the North, but most too good to throw away." In 1897, Dr. J. W. Hamilton stated that some people of like minds existed in the Methodist Church even then, and caused them to cast reflections on the teachers of the South. But, he said, "it has broken the spell, which seems to have been on certain Christian people, to hear that graduates of Boston, Harvard, Princeton, Wesleyan, Yale, and the European universities, have consented to go into the South 'to do missionary work.'"[324] In the same year, Hamilton declared that "the very best men and women produced in the North are again seeking to serve the Church in the most difficult stations in the South. . . . In the Methodist colony are men from Boston, Harvard, Yale, Wesleyan, New York University, and Princeton."[325]

The task of educating the Negro was exceedingly difficult at first and the missionary teacher was confronted with many perplexing problems. There was 'the patrimony of inveterate opinion; the force of inertia; the repugnance to education for the Negro; the impoverishment of the Southern states by war; the traditional negligence of the South to provide for the education of the masses be they white or black."[326] In addition to these difficulties many of the missionaries were forced to move from community to community seeking a friendly site for a Negro school. Sectarian rivalry among the various denominations of the North only increased the perplexities. In spite of these handicaps, these early teachers established "temples of science and religion" which they believed would become the centers of culture for the Negro race.

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[323] Northwestern Christian Advocate, January 1, 1896.
[324] The Christian Educator (August-September), 1897, p. 123.
[325] Ibid., (October-November), 1897, p. 147.

A testimony from Professor Saulsbury, educational superintendent of the American Missionary Association for a number of years, reveals the character and high purpose of many of the missionary teachers. In addressing the National Education Assembly, at Ocean Grove, New Jersey, in 1883, he said:

> Perhaps you have thought that the heroes were all dead and the patterns lost, that the Rolands and the Sidneys, and even the Judsons and the Martyns, were now only historic examples of a lost and no longer visible type. I tell you nay. There are men in our Southern land who, for a score of years, have shown a courage and a devotion equaled only by the martyrs of the Church, indefatigable as Jesuits, unyielding as the Puritans they are. There are gifted women there who have spent their young womanhood and come to middle age in labors as self-denying as any that history records, sacrificing youth, health, society, marriage, every thing but duty, for the helping of lowly humanity and the service of the lowly Christ. I could name to you a score of these whom it is my pleasure to know, and before whose moral heroism I take my hat in hand and walk humbly. Meeting from the outset with the bitterest prejudice and opposition from those, even, who profess the same name, braving obloquy and ostracism and personal violence, bitten sometimes by dogs,

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[326] Beard, Charles R., and Mary R., The Rise of American Civilization (New York, 1927), pp. 477 ff.

> and threatened oft whith the torch and the shotgun, the missionaries of our and kindred organizations have gone unflinchingly forward to prove and publish the capacities of the downcast race, and show to the Negro himself and all the world that mind is mind and man in man.[327]

The teachers of the benevolent societies met with persecution on this errend of the elevation of the Negro race. The Methodist teachers met the same fate on many occasions as the Northern Methodist preachers. So violent was the abuse and oppression of these teachers in the South, that Dr. J. W. Hamilton stated in 1898: "It was into the 'jaws of death,' in many instances, the mission teachers and preachers went who dared to go into the South. There has been more peril to the missionaries in the sixteen Southern States than in China, or even Turkey. he peril not all fled yet."[328] So devoted were the teachers to their calling, even the possibility of violent death did not cause them to desert their posts. In 1868 the activities of the Ku Klux Klan did much to impede the Methodist movement among the Freedmen. Churches and school buildings were burned, but the workers constructed others to take their places. This striking instance is recorded concerning the opposition of the Ku Klux Klan in West Tennessee:

> Some school and church buildings had been burned in West Tennessee. They were rebuilt, and then again burned. Rev. Dr. Rust, Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, and Rev. E. P. Smith, of the American Missionary Association, went down together to see what could be done. They found

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[327] Hartzell, J. C., Christian Educators in Council, p. 173.
[328] The Christian Educator (October-November, 1898), p. 172.

> the embers of the burning buildings still smoking. The teachers had gathered the pupils into a grove, and were teaching them there. The Ku Klux threatened to burn the grove if they did not desist from teaching the negroes and leave the country. The noble answer of these heroines deserves to be graven with lead in the rock. It was this: 'You have burned our school-houses and churches, and now you threaten to burn up the grove if we do not leave. We will not leave until you burn the ground under our feet.'[329]

The hostilities of the Ku Klux Klan was not only directed against the Northern teacher, but also against the Southern white teachers who were Democrats. The white Southerners who composed the membership of the Klan were opposed to anyone teaching the Negro race.[330] Many of the Southerners opposed the Northern schools among the Negroes on the grounds that they were used as the headquarters of the carpetbag politicians and the Union League. Many of the Methodist teachers received letters from the Klan giving them a fixed time to leave the country. The type of letters received from the Ku Klux Klan by the Northern teachers in the South is well illustrated by the following, which was sent to a Mr. Schneider, the teacher of a Negro school in Warren county, Mississippi:

> Headquarters, K. K. K. March 3, 1871.
>
> Mr. S:
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> As it is customary for our order never to attack any one without just telling him the cause and giving him fair warning, we wish to say, that having had your case before the order at its last meeting, you were found guilty of certain misdemeanors by a unanimous vote.

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[329] Pearne, Thomas H., "The Freedmen," in the Methodist Quarterly Review (July, 1877), LIX, pp. 467-468.

[330] Garner, James W., Reconstruction in Mississippi (New York, 1901), pp. 359-363.

> Charge 1. Associating with negroes in preference to the white race as God ordained. Guilty.
> Charge 2. For being instrumental in the removal of one of our fellow citizens from the office of justice of the peace in the county and beat where you reside and placing a carpet bagger, negro, and scallawag in his stead. Guilty.
> There was one other charge, but there being a dissenting votes on this--not guilty.
> It is an established rule of the order never to give a man more than three days to leave the country, but taking it into careful consideration your situation and the size of your carpet bag, we have concluded to extend the time to five days; at the expiration of said time, we will wait upon you if you are in the county. Hoping that you will view the subject in a sensible light and leave, as we always dislike to use harsh means, our object being to purify our state, and we commence our work on scallawags and carpet baggers first.
>
> Yours, etc.
> A wronged and outraged Mississippian and
> Chief of the Ku Klux Klan.[331]

The Freedmen's Aid Society endeavored to secure teachers for the work among the Negroes who were prompted by religious and humanitarian motives. The report of the Board of Managers of the Society to the General Conference of 1876 reveals their policy in the selection of teachers:

> It is a mistaken idea that inexperienced and poorly qualified teachers may do in this work. None but the very best can succeed; and scarcely less caution should be used than in selecting missionary teachers for the foreign field. . . we must have good teachers; these in the end are cheapest, and poor ones are terribly expensive at any price. Our Society has been fortunate in its teachers, and they have become as distinguished in bringing souls to Christ as an imparting a knowledge of the sciences, being led to

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[331] Report of the State Superintendent of Education, (Mississippi), 1871, p. 69., as cited in Garner, J. W., Reconstruction in Mississippi, pp. 362-363.

> engage in this self-sacrificing work by their Christian devotion, and their interest in this unfortunate people.[332]

The teachers of the Society were sustained in this difficult work by the belief that they were doing a religious service, and many of them were of the opinion that would be "crowned with God's blessings here, and compensated with his rich rewards hereafter. The hundred-fold recompense in this world will follow; and the life everlasting beyond." This belief was reported to be one of the most inspiring aspects of the work of the Freedmen's Aid Society. This sense of doing the will of God "has cheered and sustained the hearts of the noble, self-forgetting teachers, who have so heroically endured proscription, neglect, persecution, Ku-Kluxism, and in some cases, death itself, because of their devotion to God's poor in the South. Their sacred record is on high, and their work is with the Lord."[333] The religious motives of the teachers can be accounted for in many cases by the fact that a great number of the teachers were ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Many of them taught school during the week and preached on the Sabbath, and in places where church edifices had not been erected, the school-house served as a place for divine worship. To the Methodists of the North these humble school buildings were considered as "the true symbol of a high Christian civilization," and scarcely less "the temples of the living God than the temples of science--for in them immortals pass into a higher spiritual as well as intellectual life."[334]

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[332] Report of the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society to the General Conference of 1876, p. 9.

[333] Report of the F. A. S., 1874, p. 15.

From the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1866 to the close of the century the teachers in the South were handicapped for the lack of support in their educational endeavors. Only those who were called into the work by a sense of religious obligation remained in the work for any length of time. The faint-hearted became discouraged, and the social conditions in the South following the Civil War caused many of them to return to the North after a short time in the enterprise. It was the opinion of the editor of the Northwestern Christian Advocate in 1864, that "these teachers should be Christians, for unless the love of Christ constrains, they will grow weary and faint."[335] A sincere religious conviction was needed to "constrain" these teachers in the work among the Freedmen, according to the conditions reported among them in this period. One teacher from Texas said, "we have no stoves, and Winter is coming on; already we have had some mornings too cold for safely occupying unwarmed rooms."[336] In 1869, another teacher declared: "I should like to remain . . . and labor for the good of the colored people and their poor children, and all I ask in return is, enough to eat, and decent clothes to wear. . . . I am writing to you hungry now, having had but a cup of coffee today."[337] Dr. R. S. Rust wrote to the Western Christian Advocate while on a tour of the Southern schools and stated that "teachers in the field are suffering for a mere support, while leading these degraded children to Christ and a purer life."[338] One teacher in the South was left penniless, but stayed at her post of duty. She was reported to have been "compelled to sell her organ at a great sacrifice, in order to raise money to buy her food."[339] As late as the 1890's the teachers of the Freedmen's Aid Society were carried on "starvation rates,"[340] J. W. Hamilton, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, expressed regret in 1898 that financial conditions required him to carry "poor, half-starved, naked, perishing school-teachers" on the pay roll of the organization.[341]

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[334] Ibid., 1868, p. 11.
[335] Northwestern Christian Advocate, April 6, 1864.
[336] Report of the F. A. S., 1874, p. 10.
[337] Western Christian Advocate, June 9, 1869.

During the financial depression of the 1890's the Society contemplated opening the schools in the South one month later and closing them one month earlier in order to pay the teachers their salaries.[342] Such was the eagerness of the teachers to maintain the work among the Negroes that they preferred to accept a reduction in salary rather than shorten the school term.[343] In 1894, the teachers in one school began the work of the year "trusting God for half their pay, and half the expenses of the school."[344] When the Board of Managers of the Society was compelled to withdraw appropriations from some of the Southern schools, the teachers taught without pay.[345] Later in this decade, some teachers were willing to go to their posts in the schools for "simply their board and expenses."[346]

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[338] Ibid., January 12, 1870.

[339] Report of the F. A. S., 1874, p. 12.

[340] Hamilton to Rev. A. F. Chase, July 13, 1897. Hamilton Papers.

[341] Hamilton to Rev. W. P. Thirkield, April 16, 1898. Hamilton Papers.

[342] Hartzell to Rev. John Braden, August 25, 1893. Hartzell Papers. (Hartzell stated in 1900: "There are more teachers who are teaching for $350 per year or less than there are who receive more than that amount. And they do it uncomplainingly." "The Christian Educator (April-May, 1900), pp. 107-108.

[343] Minutes of the General Committee of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, 1893, p. 20.

[344] Hartzell to Rev. R. R. O'Neal, October 19, 1894. Hartzell Papers.

Added to the small financial return from such positions in the schools among the Negroes, the teachers confronted social conditions which required a great deal of enthusiasm and religious conviction on their part to continue. In many instances, they could not secure board in the homes of respectable white citizens of the South, and consequently had to lodge with their colored patrons. Living on an equal social plane with the Negro was considered to be a serious offense to the whites of that region, and such action was sure to cost the teacher whatever respect the community might otherwise have entertained for him. It was taken by the majority of white Southerners as an indication of loose moral character, whereas the majority of teachers were men and women of high moral and intellectual character.

As a consequence of the social ostracism of the Northern teachers by the Southern whites, the life of these early teachers was a lonely one. The Reverend Uriah Cleary, the first president of Clark University in Atlanta, went to that city immediately after the war, and found himself confronted with social ostracism. He had great difficulty in securing a place to lodge. Two of his women assistants were looked upon with contempt by the whites of Atlanta,

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345 The Christian Educator (October, 1894), p. 186.
346 Hamilton to Rev. A. A. Johnson, May 14, 1897. Hamilton Papers.

and he reported that everywhere they were commonly referred to as "Sherman Camp Followers."[347] The white teachers in the Negro schools of Arkansas were held in contempt by the whites of that section of the country. The Augusta (Arkansas) Bulletin announced that it was the imperative duty of the people of the South "to get rid of these saintly and scholarly devils as soon as possible."[348] In many places of the South the Northern teachers were frequently insulted, many of them were not able to stand these trials, and consequently they either returned home or engaged in what they considered a more congenial business.[349]

In 1883, Dr. R. S. Rust stated that the opposition first experienced had almost ceased. "Our motives in organizing schools are better understood," said he, "and our efforts to train the children in science and morality are more highly appreciated, and the marked improvement of our pupils in conduct and character has attracted, conquered prejudices, and won general approval."[350] A Southern writer states that as time passed, the Southerners came to have a feeling of genuine admiration for the Northern teacher, and it came to be a common remark in the South that the "Yankee schoolmarm" with "her twang, abominable pronunciation, and other faults, was par excellence the successful teacher and disciplinarian."[351] Nevertheless, an occasional instance of social ostracism was reported as late as 1888. In that year a teacher in Louisiana wrote to Dr. J. C. Hartzell complaining of persecution because of his activities in a Negro church. In his reply to the teacher, Dr. Hartzell said:

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[347] From a letter written by Uriah Cleary, in possession of Clark University.
[348] Staples, Thomas S., Reconstruction in Arkansas (New York, 1923), p. 327.
[349] Hartzell, J. C., Christian Educators in Council, p. 73; Fleming, W. L., Documentary History of Reconstruction, II, 257.
[350] Hartzell, J. C. Christian Educators in Council, p. 199.
[351] Garner, op. cit., p. 359.

> I am greatly grieved and surprised to learn that you have been 'boycotted and ostracized' because you prayed in our colored church . . . During slavery times white ministers of all Churches in the South, preached and labored with the colored people in their Churches, and if at this late day one of our teachers who has charge of a school among the whites of the South is to be ostracized because he offers prayer in one of our colored Churches, at the request of one of our pastors, we want to know it. My hope is that your ostracism has come from the less thoughtful.[352]

The reasons for this attitude on the part of many of the Southern whites is to be easily accounted for. The school movement among the Negroes was closely connected with the attempt at Church reconstruction in the South, and was considered by some Southerners as part and parcel of the same general "invasion" of the country, both political and religious. The "age of hate" was at its height from 1866 to 1876, and most of the persecutions reported occurred in these years. The Southerners, attempting to rescue their state governments from the hands of the "carpetbaggers and scallawags," considered all Northern people as being on a political errand, and the teachers suffered as well as others. One of the most plausible reasons for social ostracism of the Northern teacher is that the Southern woman was the ruler of the home, and they made no distinction between the socially inferior carpetbagger and the high-minded and idealistic Northern teacher. Although the Southern men treated the Northerners with courtesy in business affairs, the Southern woman had control of the social life at the fireside.[353] One Northern Methodist teacher, who had been in the South for a considerable period of time, reported that his wife had "spoken to but two white women since we came here, and that on business."[354]

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[352] Hartzell to Rev. J. W. Mougey, October 2, 1888. Hartzell Papers.

Many of the teachers from the North were sincere, but they misunderstood the Negroes and their needs. They were not aware of the relationship that existed between the whites of the South and the Negroes, nor were they able to adapt themselves to these relations. Misunderstanding and hostility between the Northern teachers and the Southerners prevented the former from having at his disposal the great amount of experience which the Southerner had accumulated in his dealings with the Negro race, and in the end the Negro suffered more than any in this period of readjustment. In addressing the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society in 1888, Dr. Atticus Haygood, a Southern Methodist and General Agent for the Slater Fund, said: "Most of the teachers are doing . . . pure . . . missionary work. Mixed up with them, some 'cranks' and 'difficult people' have appeared, just as they have appeared in every movement for the betterment of the world from the days of the apostles to our own times. But most of them are as noble Christian men and women as ever looked upon the face of the sun."[355] Another Southern writer expressed his opinion of the sentiment of the missionary teacher from the North in these words:

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[353] Letter of Bishop Matthew Simpson in the Zion's Herald, March 18, 1869; Bowers, op. cit., pp. 54-55.
[354] Report of the F. A. S., 1874, p. 13.
[355] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1888, p. 60.

> The missionary teachers who came South were supported by this sentiment in the North, (superiority of Northern ideas and education), and they could not look with friendly eyes upon anything done by the southern whites for the negroes. Altogether there were not many of these heralds of light, and it was a year before the character of their teaching became generally known to the whites or its results plainly seen. Their dislike for all things southern was plainly reciprocated by the native whites, who soon acquired a dislike for the northern teacher which became second nature. The negro was taught by the missionary educators that he must distrust the whites and give up all the habits and customs that would remind him of his former condition; he must not say master and mistress nor take off his hat when speaking to a white person. In teaching him not to be servile, they taught him to be insolent. The missionary teachers regarded themselves as the advance guard of a new army of invasion against the terrible South.[356]

In recent years, a teacher at the Hampton Institute for Negroes has expressed the sentiment of the Northern teacher of this period in this manner: "When the combat was over and the Yankee school-ma'ams followed in the train of the northern armies, the business of educating the negroes was a continuation of hostilities against the vanquished, and was so regarded to a considerable extent on both sides."[357]

It is not to be supposed that the educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church had the full and unqualified support of entire membership. Many there were who objected to this enterprise, and the reports of the Freedmen's Aid Society bear testimony to the fact that this indifference and opposition caused great anxiety among the leaders of the movement. Even during the Civil War, at a time when the minds of people became united on most of the issues at stake, Negro education did not always have the support of Northerners. Immediately after the war the financial support for Negro education was generous, but about the year 1870 a reaction set in which expressed itself in the disposition to let the South look out for its own future. This was especially true among the undenominational societies organized during the War. None of these organizations remained intact after 1872. In some parts of the North disquieting reports were heard concerning the political corruption and the low standards of moral life among the Negroes. After the North had spent some fifteen years attempting to elevate the Negro, he appeared to be no better off for it. Moreover, the states in the South had written provisions into their statutes providing for equal education of the Negro race, and many supposed that the work of philanthropy was largely done.

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[356] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, pp. 464-465.

[357] Miss Alice M. Bacon in the Slater Fund Trustees, Occasional Papers, No. 7., p. 6.

This reaction appears in the reports of the Freedmen's Aid Society beginning in the 1870's and continuing until the close of the century. In 1870, Dr. Isaac Wiley stated that one difficulty with the Methodist people of the North in relation to Negro education was that they started out with the question: "What do we want with a Freedmen's Aid Society; what is it doing; what does it propose to do; where is the imperative necessity of the Church at large being called upon to act in this direction at all?"[358] The leaders of the Methodist movement in the South held that with the death of the anti-slavery leaders, the philanthropic sentiment began to fall away; the Federal Government abandoned its guardianship of the Negro, and turned him over to the legislation of the Southern states. After this had happened, "the South at once began to restrain his enfranchisement, and legislate against his advancement."[359] That there were many enemies in the Methodist Episcopal Church of the educational work in the South is shown by a letter written in 1871 to Dr. R. S. Rust from a teacher in Georgia. He declared that "the enemies of the freedmen and our Church are trying to starve these teachers, and they have well-nigh done it."[360] In 1877 a great many people in the Northern Church thought they had done enough as a Church for the Negroes of the South. Dr. Arthur Edwards of the Northwestern Christian Advocate stated in that year that "the error is largely prevalent, that the freedmen are without a sense of appreciation or an honorable ambition for self-improvement. The slander that they are naturally low, sensual, and devoid of spiritual aspirations is altogether too extensively credited."[361] A "voice from the South" wrote to the Northwestern Christian Advocate in 1877, and declared: "We are doling out our pittances to the Freedmen's Aid Society, and wondering if the necessity for its continued existence, and continual calls upon us for help is not drawing to a close? 'Are not those niggers about as well able to help themselves as we are to help them?' 'Have'nt they got about as much education as there is any necessity for in planting corn, and cultivating cotton, and raising tobacco, and gathering rice?' "What do a lot of field hands want with education?' are questions we have heard over and over again."[362]

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[358] Report of the F. A. S., 1870, p. 25.
[359] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1899, p. 5.
[360] Western Christian Advocate, April 5, 1871.
[361] Northwestern Christian Advocate, September 5, 1877.

In the last decade of the century the opposition to the educational program of the Methodist Episcopal Church among the Negroes increased within the membership. According to Dr. J. C. Hartzell, some Methodists were of the belief that they had been helping the Negro long enough, and that the schools of the Society were teaching them "too much Latin and Greek."[363] In 1900, the sentiment had so turned against Negro education that the Committee on the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society at the General Conference reported that "it is necessary in nearly one-half of the whole country to create a sentiment in favor of the education of the Negro."[364]

In 1890, Dr. Parkhurst, the editor of the Zion's Herald at Boston, created a considerable amount of discussion concerning the subject of continued support of the Freedmen's schools. After taking a trip through the South, he returned to Boston and wrote several articles in which he stated that the conditions among the Negroes were worse since their emancipation than they were before. These statements brought forth denials from the leaders of Negro education. Bishop John M. Walden challenged the statements, and argued that the editor was mistaken.[365] Bishop Walden sent an article to

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[362] Ibid., May 30, 1877.
[363] The Christian Educator (October, 1889), p. 17.
[364] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1900, p. 768.
[365] Northwestern Christian Advocate, April 23, 1890.

Parkhurst's paper entitled "The Results of Emancipation," in which he stated: "Those who can compare the acts of worship and religious life of the slave with that of the Negro-American of our day will see that the religious and moral condition of the race is far in advance of what is was when the first colored Annual Conferences were formed . . ."[366] Another Methodist came to the rescue of the Southern work among the Negroes and gave his impressions of the conditions among them. He said:

> As to the Negroes south, . . . I found them a variety lot, of course, for the 'uncles' and 'aunties' left over from slave days are still the same, still in lowly service, but satisfied; about the stations and hotels, gangs of loafers, yet quite like the loafing gangs of less color; another grade doing most of the farm work, the unskilled labor of the cities, with some masons and carpenters, and they never go out on strikes . . . I found unqualified proof that the black scalp covers a mental soil that yields well under cultivation. Indeed that typical and intelligent southern gentleman, Governor Gordon, said to me: 'I don't like to tell it, but I must, that the colored children of Georgia manifest more zeal for education than do the white children.'[367]

In 1894, Parkhurst was still "digging away" at the work in the South, and "making a bad matter worse," but Dr. J. W. Hamilton wrote to a friend and stated that the Michigan Christian Advocate and the Northwestern Christian Advocate have both gone for him . . . in a sensible but very severe way." He was of the opinion that Parkhurst "will probably leave the business alone now."[368]

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[366] Zion's Herald, April 9, 1890.
[367] Statement of J. C. Ambrose in the Northwestern Christian Advocate, May 14, 1890.
[368] Hamilton to Rev. C. S. Rogers, June 4, 1894. Hamilton Papers.

In presenting the claims of the Freedmen's Aid Society to the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the officers of the Society often met with opposition to the Southern work. In 1891, the Reverend J. S. Chadwick, Assistant Corresponding Secretary of the Society, wrote to Dr. J. C. Hartzell, informing him of the increasing opposition in the Church. In reply to this letter, Hartzell stated: "I fully appreciate the burden of heart which you have had at times over the lack of enthusiasm and sometimes the opposition to our Society which you have met among preachers and people. I have been through it all, year after year."[369]

In 1894, Dr. J. W. Hamilton attempted to stem the tide of opposition to Negro education in the Church by inviting the opinion of several Northern educators concerning their efforts in the South, and the ability of the Negro student in the Northern institutions of learning. In a communication to Dr. Charles W. Eliot of Harvard, Hamilton stated that a Southern educator had said: "as to the results of more than twenty-five years devoted to the education of the Negro in the South, many of the most faithful workers have been most sorely disappointed."[370] In his reply to Hamilton, President Eliot stated that "our experience has not been extensive enough to yield any decidedly encouraging results as regards the capacity of Negroes for the higher education; neither does it afford ground for any discouraging affirmations."[371] Other reports from Boston and Colby universities, and Wellesley College were more encouraging concerning the Negro's ability as a student in the white institutions.[372] Bishop Atticus Haygood attempted to encourage the Northern Methodists by issuing a statement which appeared in the Northwestern Christian Advocate in 1896. He wrote:

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[369] Hartzell to Rev. J. S. Chadwick, June 22, 1891. Hartzell Papers.
[370] Hamilton to Hon. Charles W. Eliot, June 29, 1894. Hamilton Papers
[371] *The Christian Educator* (April, 1894), p. 142.

> My worst fear of the North concerning the Southern Negro is this knowledge: Some are discouraged because there does not appear more rapid progress in the development of character in the students of its schools. The noble teachers expected too much at the start. They did not, at the first, see that it is a work covering at least three generations. . . . At Chautauqua in 1883 . . . I told the people to take a fresh hold--that 'the work would require a hundred years.'[373]

In spite of these statements lending encouragement to the efforts of the Methodist Church to educate the Negroes, hostility toward the movement continued to the end of the century. In 1898, a reaction had set in at the North charging the Freedmen's Aid Society with making paupers of the Negro pupils in the South by undertaking to educate them without demanding that they contribute anything for their education.[374] Hamilton confided to a co-worker in the South that "as sure as this impression entertains at the North it is going to cut off our supplies."[375] The opposition to the cause of Negro education was so marked in south-west Missouri at this time that a Northern Methodist preacher presented the claims of the Society with hesitation. He declared that his predecessor

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[372] Ibid., pp. 142-143.
[373] Northwestern Christian Advocate, January 1, 1896.
[374] Hamilton to Rev. W. C. Clay, January 5, 1898. Hamilton Papers.
[375] Ibid.

"came very near getting thrashed for presenting it in the preceding year."[376] In 1899, Dr. Hamilton made the following statement concerning this sentiment in the Church:

> There is a sense of humiliation in the minds and heart of intelligent Methodist people when they are told that they have members in their Church who are opposed to education. Yet there is not a week in the year when there is not a letter received in the office of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society from some person, declining to 'educate niggers.' We had supposed that the sun was high enough in the sky for even the men and women who live in the hole in the mountains, to get over that belatedness. But these letters do not always come from persons who tie their horses in the traces with strings, or hang a stone over the side of the horse to hold the harness on; but it always come from persons who have'nt education enough themselves.[377]

Another difficulty confronting the Methodists in their efforts to educate the Negroes was the waning enthusiasm of the colored people for education. This temper began to manifest itself in the 1870's. It will be recalled that the entire black race was enthusiastic for the opportunities of education at the close of the Civil War. Both old and young crowded the schools of the Northern societies, but after a period of some ten years, great numbers of them found the work too difficult and eventually became indifferent.[378] In 1875 the reports of the Freedmen's Aid Society described this developing indifference of the Negroes. The Report for 1875 announced that:

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[376] The Christian Educator (February-March, 1898), p. 76.
[377] Ibid., (December-January), 1899-1900, p. 6.
[378] Fleming, W. L., Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, p. 764.

> The work of Christian education among this people can not be delayed without great peril. The freedmen, at first, were eager to learn; would walk a great distance to attend school, and make great sacrifices for knowledge, for there was a perfect blaze of enthusiasm among them upon this subject. Already a change for the worse is perceptible; for, . . . the love of books has begun to wane, and the desire for improvement has diminished, and many have fallen into idleness, listlessness, intemperance, and vice.[379]

Claiming that the treatment at the hands of the Southern people was the cause of his discouragement, the Negro was described as hardened in his attitudes. "Distressed and discouraged, the colored man yesterday was sullen," the report for 1875 declared. "To-day he is laying aside the Primer and Bible. To-morrow the tempest will darken the sky, the earthquake will yawn in its madness, and the hands of the black man may nervously clutch at the knife and firebrand."[380] In the same year Dr. Townsend of Boston University stated that while the children of the freedmen were still zealous in acquiring knowledge, the desire "is fast waning with the masses of those who have passed their childhood." He continued: "There was a time during the war and shortly after, when groups of colored men in middle life, and even in life's decline, could have been seen gathered about field-stumps on which pine-knots were blazing, trying thus to acquire the rudiments of an education. The enthusiasm was then at fever heat. But this sight is at present rarely, if ever witnessed."[381]

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[379] _Report of the F. A. S._, 1875, pp. 7-8.
[380] _Ibid._, p. 84.
[381] _Ibid._, p. 59.

In conclusion, a summary of the results of the educational movement of the Methodist Episcopal Church among the Southern Negroes from 1862-1900 remains to be set forth. Prior to the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1866, the results of Methodist endeavor among the Freedmen are included in whatever success the undenominational Freedmen's Commissions realized in the attempts to teach them the fundamentals of elementary education. Some idea of the progress made by the benevolent organizations of the North in the early days of Negro education can be gathered from a letter of one of the Union army commanders to his superior officer. In a letter to General U. S. Grant, dated, July 14, 1867, General Pope wrote concerning the Freedmen: "It may be safely said that the marvelous progress made in the education of these people, aided by the noble charitable contributions of Northern societies and individuals, finds no parallel in the history of mankind. If continued, it must be by the same means, and if the masses of white people exhibit the same indisposition to be educated that they do now, five years will have transferred intelligence and education, so far as the masses are concerned, to the colored people of this District."[382]

After the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the literature concerning it teems with accounts of successful endeavor. In August 1868, after two years of Methodist denominational efforts among the Freedmen, the executive committee of the Society met at Cincinnati, and surveyed the results of the work. Dr. Rust, the Field Superintendent, reported that eighty of their teachers had been employed in fifty-one schools, and "above seven thousand children and adults have been enrolled as pupils, and have enjoyed the advantages of a religious training by Christian teachers."[383] After reporting that the Society in 1869 had spent more than $93,000 "toward the elevation of this long-neglected people," the officers of the Society stated that "no greater work, and none more extensive in its influence, has been accomplished with equal expenditures; and never, since Christ hung upon the Cross, has a more inviting field of Christian effort been presented, nor one promising richer and more abundant harvests."[384] In that year the number of teachers employed by the Society had increased to one-hundred and five; the pupils in the day schools had increased to 10,000, and 8,000 pupils were under instruction in the Sunday schools. One thousand persons had been converted during the year through the efforts of the Freedmen's Aid Society.[385] Although during the first three years of the existence of the Society, it had commissioned and sustained two hundred and twenty-nine teachers, the officers had been able to furnish only a small proportion of the number earnestly solicited.[386] At the close of this period the Society claimed that it had demonstrated to the South that the colored people were capable of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the elementary branches of learning;[387] and that "the success of the enterprise thus far vindicates the sagacity and foresight of its founders."[388]

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[382] Herbert, Hilary A., Why the Solid South?, p. 43.

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[383] Report of the F. A. S., 1868, p. 15.
[384] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, p. 12.
[385] Ibid., p. 11.
[386] Ibid., p. 7.
[387] Ibid., p. 4.

In 1871, the Freedmen's Aid Society expressed regret that it had been able to accomplish so little,[389] but a Northern Methodist presiding elder in Georgia encouraged the officers of the Society by declaring: "Your schools in the South, in my opinion, are doing more good in elevating the colored people, than all the churches put together. It is education that the poor freedmen need, to lift them out of their degraded condition."[390] In the next year, the Society announced in its report that "the terrible effects of slavery are beginning to disappear; evidences of improvement are visible, illustrations of true manhood, Christian character, and real scholarship are increasing; and there is a bright prospect of the realization of a high and permanent civilization for this race, so long oppressed and so deeply wronged."[391] In 1874, the Freedmen's Aid Society declared that the results accomplished by the Society proved that God had inspired the whole movement and stated the following results as an indication of this fact:

> Its elevating, redeeming agencies have been exerted in all those states where, so recently, the iron hoof of slavery had ground God's image into the dust. Directly, or indirectly, its influences are now uplifting millions, who had thus been debased. It has assisted, largely, in gathering into the fold of Methodism two hundred thousand freedmen. Fifty thousand have been educated in its schools. Hundreds of colored preachers, now laboring in the late Slave States, have received more or less of preparation

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[388] Ibid., p. 3.
[389] Ibid., 1871, p. 3.
[390] Letter of Rev. M. T. Smith to Rev. R. S. Rust, March 27, 1871, in the Western Christian Advocate, April 5, 1871.
[391] Report of the F. A. S., 1872, p. 5.

> for their high and holy work in institutions planted and maintained by this Society, which has acquired and built up in the Southern States a school property worth, today, two hundred thousand dollars. A Society which catalogues such amazing results in the brief term of seven years, does not need to ask permission to live. . . . It hears the seal of the divine attestation, as a genuine, God-inspired philanthropy. . . [392]

In an address before the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1878, Bishop Gilbert Haven gave an illustration of the work of the Society in the South, and compared the lot of a Negro of that time with his circumstances in the year 1858. Bishop Haven at this anniversary meeting, referred to an elegant steel engraving of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which was held in Nashville in 1858. The colored servitor of the General Conference who was engraved with a water-pitcher in his hand, afterward became a minister of ability in the Methodist Episcopal Church in New Orleans. Haven said in regard to this Negro minister:

> What a change from the one who was born thrall, and expected all his days and all the days of his children and children's children to remain thrall, pouring water for his owners or their ecclesiastical representatives, and these youth going out to minister to the . . . community, the accredited equals of every citizen. All this in twenty years! That is the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in one illustration! That is her work, her claim, her purpose.[393]

During the session of the National Education Assembly in 1883, at Ocean Grove, New Jersey, a pioneer of the Methodist educational movement in the South, the Reverend John Braden, addressed the gathering and told of the success of the Freedmen's Aid Society up to that time. He announced that "there have been taught between sixty-five and seventy thousand students, and the teachers which have been educated by these schools of the Church have taught not less than half a million of their people."[394] In contrasting the condition of the Freedmen at the time of their emancipation with their status in 1883, Braden said: "When we consider all the circumstances of the colored people as they came from slavery, their physical, mental, and moral debasement, and the difficulties on themselves in the way of their development, the opposition on the part of many whites, and the persistent effort to prevent the Negro from occupying positions he is entitled to as a freeman and citizen of a great nation, and the few openings in business circles for him, without capital and experience, are the results not wonderful?"[395] He pointed out that the beginning of the work of the Society in the South began in the cabins of the Negroes, the church-houses, and the brush arbors. "Now," he said, "we have college buildings, with equipments not unworthy older colleges for whites; we have professional schools of theology, law, medicine; and students who were lately slaves have graduated in all these schools with credit to themselves, and have entered upon courses of usefulness full of promise."[396]

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[392] Report of the F. A. S., 1874, pp. 3-4.
[393] Ibid., 1878, pp. 38-39.

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[394] Braden, John, "Educational Work Among the Freedmen by the Methodist Episcopal Church," in Hartzell, J. C., Christian Educators in Council, p. 181.

[395] Ibid.

[396] Ibid.

As to the general progress made by the Negro since the Civil War, Dr. J. C. Hartzell declared, in an address before the National Educational Assembly, that it "has been marvelous." He continued: "They are climbing up into the higher realms of learning; the silver tones of their orators and the enchanting music of their songsters are heard in all that South-land; their mathematicians are communing with Newton, and their metaphysicians are mastering Hamilton. Leaving these schools, their young men are entering the pulpit, are on the rostrum, and in the school-room; and they are there to lead. Their young women are teaching, or becoming wives of men worthy of them, and doing their part in building up Christian homes."[397]

In 1889, seventeen of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church gave their estimate of the educational work of the Church in the South, and without exception they stated that great progress had been made, and called the attention of the Church to the work as being one of the most important projects ever inaugurated for the instruction, evangelization, and elevation of a needy people.[398]

At the close of the century the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society was considered by the Church as a permanent institution. The Board of Managers of the Society stated that the experimental stage of the Southern educational movement had passed, and that permanent results, in the acquisition of properties and in the development of recognized centers of educational power, had been achieved. All doubts as to the work in the South had disappeared among the leaders of the movement, and they challenged the Christian Church to show a parallel movement of greater value.[399] Quoting Bishop Haygood of the Southern Methodist Church as proof, the editor of The Christian Educator declared that the Methodist Episcopal Church was not a menace to the Southern states, and announced that the educational work of the Church in that region had just begun. To those in the Church who still had misgivings about their place in that country, the editor replied that "we are in the South to stay. Retreat? Never!"[400]

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[397] Hartzell, J. C. Christian Educators in Council, p. 75-76.
[398] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1889, pp. 17-19.

In 1898, Dr. J. W. Hamilton wrote that the real return from the Methodist investment among the Negroes of the South was not in property nor money, but in "prophets and preachers of righteousness." In that year the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society had enrolled 125,000 Negro students in its schools, and 10,000 were under instruction at that time. Since its organization in 1866, the Society had educated more preachers among the colored people in all denominations than all the other schools in the South. Its one Medical School, the Meharry Medical College, had educated more than one-half of all the physicians and pharmacists among the Negro race. Hamilton stated that in 1898: "The number of teachers among the black people educated in all the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education schools equals nearly 20,000, or more than six hundred a year. Then the number of farmers and carpenters and masons and machinists and tailors and shoemakers are only equaled by the number of cooks and seamstresses and house-keepers."[401] The Negro educated in the schools of the Society were said to be the best friend of the South. It was the testimony of all the denominational societies working among the Negroes of the South that the criminal Negro never came from a Christian school.[402] In 1900, in a letter to the Society, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman commended its labors in the following words: ". . . the true sign of missionary zeal our Freedmen's Aid Society is manifesting, is evidenced, first, by an aggressive but sacrificial spirit; and secondly, by the tolerance of a large and intelligent love. . . . to you and your organization has Christ given a holy charge. In your labors so abundant, and counsels so needful for the education and moral development of so hapless a people, you commend your work to every lover of the Lord and of his appearing."[403]

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[399] The Christian Educator (June-July, 1896), pp. 88-90.
[400] Ibid.

The following exhibit shows the apportionments, receipts, and disbursements of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the program of Negro education in the South from 1866-1900:

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[401] The Christian Educator (October-November, 1898), p. 173.

[402] Report of the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society to the General Committee, 1899, p. 8.

[403] The Christian Educator (August-November, 1900), p. 23.

Annual Report	Year	Pastoral Charges.	Asked of Conferences.	Conference, Collections General and Special	Total Receipts	Total Disbursements
1st	1866-67	6,174	First apportionment to Annual Conferences made 1872.	Conference collections were 1st reported in '72.	$37,139.00	$37,139.89
2d	1867-68	6,895			50,167.00	58,167.20
3d	1868-69	7,156			92,190.77	93,513.50
4th	1869-70	7,595			82,617.00	82,719.49
5th	1870-71	7,871	. . . . . .	. . . .	50,765.43	51,568.43
6th	1872-73	8,371	$100,000	$ 12,048	45,024.00	55,134.98
7th	1873-74	8,934	100,000	44,198	58,978.00	66,995.74
8th	1874-75	9,248	100,000	33,993	86,304.34	86,562.88
9th	1875-76	9,240	100,000	34,303	57,312.00	58,204.75
10th	1876-77	9,297	100,000	51,775	70,269.00	70,442.65
11th	1877-78*	9,404	100,000	35,088	62,905.00	63,402.00
12th	1878-79	9,638	100,000	34,554	73,537.00	75,260.76
13th	1879-80	9,750	75,000	49,106	90,287.00	104,376.25
14th	1880-81	9,947	125,000	44,258	93,376.00	95,788.27
15th	1881-82	10,203	125,000	49,716	96,642.00	107,995.68
16th	1882-83	10,341	125,000	63,672	123,553.00	142,337.14
17th	1883-84	10,387	150,000	66,462	137,453.00	152,195.26
18th	1884-85	10,707	150,000	71,396	143,210.00	174,752.53
19th	1885-86	11,072	168,000	69,497	166,784.83	168,675.09
20th	1886-87	11,346	212,000	85,930	176,552.43	183,689.96
21st	1887-88	11,533	231,125	85,427	170,417.85	170,726.88
22d	1888-89	11,858	230,821	85,702	221,438.41	218,278.88
23d	1889-90	12,267	231,821	103,653	266,684.48	299,903.14
25th†	1890-91	13,097	235,500	106,651	322,656.44	321,953.94
26th	1891-92	13,650	240,500	121,472	351,899.40	363,613.82
27th	1892-93	14,023	250,350	112,593	352,124.62	363,763.01
28th	1893-94	24,919	250,350	110,536	279,604.09	276,771.78
29th	1894-95	25,383	250,350	101,552	366,981.24	358,500.53
30th	1895-96	25,882	250,350	92,230	204,762.13	213,921.83
31st	1896-97	26,147	250,098	95,268	107,068.81	127,070.12
32d	1897-98	26,657	245,050	99,080	126,755.83	141,847.54
33d	1898-99	26,986	244,200	93,182	152,134.35	171,643.34
34th	1899-00	27,230	248,950	101,858	136,106.90	148,234.88

Receipts and disbursements for thirty-four yrs. $4,853,701.35 $5,105,152.14[404]

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* From this time the financial year is made up of twelve months, including fall Conferences and the spring Conferences following.

† During first years several of the "annual reports" included more than one year, and as a result the number of succeeding reports is one year less than the age of the Society. To correct this discrepancy, the Quarter-Centennial Report is numbered the "twenth-fifth."

[404] Report of the F. A. S., 1914, p. 8.

Chapter IV

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF COMMON SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES AMONG THE SOUTHERN NEGROES BY THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The first schools to be established by the Freedmen's Aid Society for the education of the Negroes of the South were of the elementary type. This was to be expected, since few of the Negroes had advanced far enough in educational training to demand collegiate instruction. Although the schools established by the Society in the South from 1866 to 1900 bore such titles as Colleges, Institutes, Seminaries, and Academies, most of them began as common schools and gradually evolved into higher institutions, but even as late as the last decade of the century, most of the colleges and universities offered elementary instruction. In the later years, the elementary classes were used as practice schools for the training of teachers, and the number of students in the lower grades was limited.

Before many of the permanent schools were established, the Society sent teachers into the field to set up a school in any place that could be obtained for such a purpose. Since the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church had been sent into the Southern states prior to the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society, the church-houses erected or purchased for the use of Negro congregations served to house many of the new schools. The Freedmen's Bureau came to the rescue of many teachers who had difficulty in establishing their schools, and provided not only a place for them to hold the daily sessions of their classes, but contributed toward their support.

During the first year, the Freedmen's Aid Society established fifty-nine elementary schools in ten of the Southern states.[1] In 1869, the Society maintained sixty schools in the following states: Tennessee, 7; Georgia, 20; Alabama, 5; Kentucky, 2; Louisiana, 4; Mississippi, 8; North Carolina, 1; South Carolina, 9; Virginia, 3. One hundred and five teachers were employed by the Society in this year. After the year 1873, the number of common schools supported by the Society decreased owing to the concentration of the efforts toward the establishment and building up of schools for the training of teachers and preachers,[2] and to the gradual development of the public school system of the different states. In 1873, the Freedmen's Aid Society aided in the support of about forty common schools. By 1885, the report of the Society mentions aiding the schools taught by the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in connection with their missionary work, but it appears that the Society had discontinued its system of common schools, as such, and had included the primary grades of instruction in its several institutions. It is difficult to ascertain the number of common schools maintained by the agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church during the years 1866 to 1900, owing to the fact that the records are not clear in that respect. In addition to the pupils under elementary instruction in the institutions of the Society in 1885, many of the church edifices in the conferences of the Church were used for holding "day schools." In a single colored conference in that year nearly forty churches were so used for school purposes and it was reported that in this one conference fifteen hundred pupils were under instruction.[3]

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[1] Report of the F. A. S., 1868, p. 10.

[2] The normal schools for teachers and the theological departments for the training of ministers were established by the Society during the first year of its existence, as departments in the several institutions. No attempt will be made to discuss this phase of the educational program in this chapter, but will be treated in detail in Chapter V under the development of professional and vocational education.

According to the report of 1868, the policy of the Society in locating the Negro schools in the South was governed by one or more of the following considerations: "Placing them at the centers of influence; in localities where the Freedmen would cooperate most cheerfully and furnish the most liberal contributions for their support; in towns containing the largest ignorant and degraded population; where the Freedmen's Bureau desired and would most liberally aid; but especially in connection with our missions, where our teachers may supplement the work of the missionary, and thus accomplish the greatest amount of good."[4]

The aim of the Freedmen's Aid Society was not to establish a general system of common schools in the South, for it was of the opinion that this duty was a function of the State and not of a benevolent enterprise.[5] This general policy of the Society was announced in the report for the year 1869 as follows:

> We must continue the free-school movement until the whole

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[3] Report of the F. A. S., 1885, p. 16.
[4] Report of the F. A. S., 1868, pp. 9-10.
[5] Report of the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society to the General Conference of 1876, p. 6.

> country becomes dotted with these temples of science, and then shall the inhabitants of the South, without distinction of color, vie in morality and intelligence with the hardy sons of the North. As rapidly as one State introduces the free-school system, we push our conquests Southward, aiming at the general introduction of an instrumentality of usefulness and culture which has proved so valuable, wherever it has been introduced. This movement may meet with temporary obstructions; in some localities be strenuously resisted as an innovation; and where it has been inaugurated, as in Tennessee, may be imperiled and even temporarily defeated, but it will ultimately triumph, and reward both friends and foes with priceless blessings. Amid the ebbings and flowings of the tide of public sentiment the well-tried system of American free-schools will rise higher and higher in the appreciation of the Southern people, and eventually will be anchored among them as permanently as in other parts of the country.[6]

The Freedmen's Aid Society expected the Southern states to provide a system of public education for Negroes and relieve them of the necessity for this department of the work. Expressing hope that this responsibility would be assumed by the states, the Society declared in 1871: "Several of the Southern States have inaugurated a system of free schools, and we hope the day is not far distant when we shall be relieved from this department of our work, and shall be able to transfer our primary schools to the fostering care of their respective States."[7] The Methodist leaders in the South did not want to abandon the primary schools, however, until they were certain that the Southern states would assume the responsibility for their support. In 1873, the Society realized that the Southern states would not assume the responsibility for common school education for the Negroes until a distant time, and stated its responsibility for continuing this work in its own institutions. The report for that year declared that the Negroes should have the advantages of the common school system as were afforded in the more progressive states of the country, but the leaders of the movement of the Methodist Episcopal Church stated that "it will take years of patient effort on the part of all to accomplish such a result; for a thousand prejudices and difficulties must be met and overcome, and vast sums of money must be expended by the several States, already impoverished by the desolations of Civil War."[8] "In the meantime," the Reverend W. F. Mallalieu announced, "the people must not be left to grow up in ignorance. They must be taught and trained, and individual philanthropists and Christian Churches must enter the field, and do this work, nor wait for the tardy movements of State officials or political parties."[9]

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[6] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, pp. 4-5.
[7] Report of the F. A. S., 1871, p. 6.

While the primary schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society decreased rapidly after the first eight or ten years of its existence, this trend did not indicate a lack of interest in such work, but rather a change in policy. The Society found that the Southern states were beginning to do some of the elementary school work among the Negroes, and in addition to this welcomed assistance, some of the colored students trained in the early schools of the benevolent organizations were able to do much of the work in the primary schools. Hence, this phase of work decreased rapidly toward the end of the century. As time passed, more and more of the young Negro students were put to work in the primary schools as teachers, and the white teachers from the North--"foreigners," as they were sometimes called, were gradually superceded in the primary and country schools by the better educated among the Freedmen.

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[8] Ibid., 1873, pp. 43-44.
[9] Ibid.

The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church began its educational work in the South with the expressed purpose of assisting in the establishment of a general common school system, similar to the public schools in New England. The report of the Society for 1869 announced that "we have aided in the introduction of the Common School into the South, and acted as pioneers in the free-school movement southward. We have furnished Northern teachers who have taught school on the New England plan, and in accordanse with Northern sentiment, so successfully as to impress the Legislatures of several States with the excellence of these schools, and their necessity in securing the elevation and enduring prosperity of the people."[10] In his line of official duties as an officer of the Society, the Reverend John M. Walden advocated the establishment of a public school system before the Annual Conferences in the South and West during the years 1865-1875. In an address at the anniversary meeting of the Society in 1875, Dr. Walden stated that the schools under its direction were not planted to educate voters, nor to dictate to the Freedmen in political matters. He was of the opinion that although the teachers were commissioned to go into the South in the direct interest of religion, each one would help to create a sentiment that would, sooner or later demand the American free-school system. As to his own participation in the creating of this sentiment for the free-school in the South, he said:

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[10] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, pp. 4-5

> During the past ten years, in the line of official duties, I have attended nearly every Annual Conference in the West and South, and in addresses before them have expressed my firm conviction, formed years ago when more directly connected with this educational work, that *the State has an interest in the child--the future man or woman--in view of which, it should demand, for every one, a common education in public or private schools*; and the sentiment has often been received with approval. I believe that our people favor a free-school system that shall be universal, and, to that end, if need be, compulsory. The schools of our Society are preparing the way for such a system in the South.[11]

Recent research has shown that the germs of a free-school system existed in many parts of the South before the Civil War, but it is fair to say that the common school system, in the modern sense of the term, was introduced by the Freedmen's Bureau and the Church educational societies.[12] After the common school systems, inaugurated by these agencies and the "carpetbag" governments, were turned over to the "home rule" governments of the Southern states after 1876, Negroes were given the advantage of public education to some extent, but the facilities were so meager as late as 1892 that one of the delegates from Mississippi to the General Conference of that year offered a resolution for a common school department to be added to the Freedmen's Aid Society.[13] Although this resolution was not adopted, the Society sought to meet the needs of elementary students in certain parts of the South. In 1896, there were 1,984 students below the academic grade in the schools of the Society. The Committee on the Society at the General Conference of 1896 reported that its money should not be spent for the instruction of those who could be cared for in the public schools of the states, but the body stated that it would continue to offer the advantages of an elementary education to those colored students from communities where no public schools existed for them.[14] Dr. J. W. Hamilton, one of the secretaries of the Society, declared in 1897 that "until such time as the South shall be able to maintain a common or public school in every place where it is needed, it is our privilege, as well as duty, to aid the Negroes in giving to their children a good education."[15]

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[11] Report of the *F. A. S.*, 1875, p. 94.

[12] DuBois, W. E. B., *Black Reconstruction*, p. 664.

[13] *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1892, p. 331.

There are several reasons why the Freedmen's Aid Society turned from elementary education to the higher branches of education. In 1872, the report of the Society announced that "our primary schools prepared the way for graded and normal schools, and these will furnish students for the theological seminary and college."[16] Thus the educational policy of the Society seems to have been centered upon providing for the gradual advancement of the students. When the elementary students under its care were sufficiently advanced to demand secondary instruction, the Society turned to the establishment of such schools. Beginning in the 1870's the reports of the Freedmen's Aid Society fully described this process of educational evolution.

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[14] Ibid., 1896, p. 411.
[15] The Christian Educator (August-September, 1897), p. 140.
[16] Report of the F. A. S., 1872, p. 7.

Stating that there was little need of colleges in the first years of the organization of Methodist educational endeavor, in 1872 the Society declared that "we have reached that point in the progress of our educational work where a few of our students are prepared to enter high schools and colleges, and the number will constantly increase."[16]

Another reason for this general shift in policy was the realization that the Church could probably influence the development of public schools more through the training of teachers than through the establishment of such a system itself. "The work which now demands our special attention," declared the Methodist leaders in 1871, "is the support of our colleges and normal schools." "Through these we can reach the common schools and exert over them a controlling influence. Whoever educates the teachers gives tone to the thought and sentiment of the present age, and determines the character of the future."[17] In 1878, the Society declared that "primary instruction is the legitimate work of the State, and it has made limited provision for it, and will make greater."[18] By the year 1880, the Society was reluctant to contribute funds to the establishment of common schools, and the policy of sustaining higher institutions had been settled.[19]

The Reverend John Braden, a worker in the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society from its inception, described the gradual evolution of the educational work in the South in the following words:

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[16] Report of the F. A. S., 1872, p. 7.
[17] Ibid., 1871, p. 7.
[18] Ibid., 1878, p. 22.
[19] Ibid., 1880, p. 17.

> As the Church was released from the care of providing white teachers for the common schools, the work of providing colored teachers became imperative. The primary schools in some of the central points were gradually transformed into normal schools, then into academies; then came the high-sounding names of theological schools, colleges, and universities. But these changes were not so much of choice as necessity. In the prosecution of this work, students with black skins finished, in due season, the arithmetic, and, what was perfectly natural, went on to algebra, then geometry, trigonometry, conic sections, calculus. They studied Latin, and read Nepos, Caesar, Virgil; they studied Greek, and read Homer and Demosthenes; then mastered the elements of natural science, and Belles-lettres, and did all these just as if their bodies had been covered with a white skin, and having demonstrated that they had the ability, the Church went through the Course and said to them, Well done! The Church had said at first, they must learn to read the Bible. The Negro did this, and then said, We must read Virgil. The Church said, They must know arithmetic; the negro said, We must know how to measure and weigh cotton and corn, but we must measure the stars also. The Church was slow to say college and university, but the voice of intellect under the dark skin, and the voice of God said, Let them go free; free to roam the fields of science, of professional and general literature; let them into the halls of science; let them scan the heavens with your telescopes, and the diatoms with your microscopes; let them search in the crucibles for hidden mysteries; let them peer into the musty tomes of the past; let them know the living present; let them know the laws of their own being and destiny, from Mount Sinai and Calvary; let them know the grandeur of the human mind, its capabilities and its destinies, and start them in the race to develop capacity, and to win the highest destiny--eternal life.[20]

As the states in the South took over the responsibility for elementary education, the schools of the Society turned to secondary and college instruction. Thus the mission school became an elementary school, high school, and college in turn.

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[20] Braden, John, "Educational Work Among the Freedmen by the Methodist Episcopal Church," in Hartzell, J. C., Christian Educators in Council, p. 179.

Central Tennessee College.

The first school to be established by the Freedmen's Aid Society was the Central Tennessee College, at Nashville, Tennessee. In 1865, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church appropriated ten thousand dollars to establish a Freedmen's school in the South. This sum was placed under the direction of Bishop D. W. Clark, who, having visited Nashville, authorized the Reverends John Seys and O. O. Knight to open a school in Clark Chapel, a church-building of the Southern Methodist Church, then known as Andrew Chapel. Knight found the building unsuited for school purposes, and with his own hands prepared seats and other necessary furniture.[21]

The first teachers were Messrs. Seys and Knight, assisted by Mrs. Mary Murphy, Mrs. Julia North, Misses O. D. Barber, Julia Evans, Nettie and Mary Mann, and a little later Miss Emily E. Preston. All these assistants were colored persons, with but very limited education, mostly acquired after the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation. The school was composed of scholars of all ages and sizes--grandparents and grandchildren, parents and children were in the same classes. They were poorly clad, and mostly homeless wanderers from the plantations. They found shelter in the army barracks, in abandoned houses, in cellars or garrets, stables,--whatever would afford them a present shelter.[22]

The crowded condition of the church led the teachers to seek better accommodations, and in the next year, the school was moved into a building known as the Gun Factory, an armory which had been abandoned by the Confederate soldiers. The possession of this property was made possible by the cooperation of the Freedmen's Bureau.

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[21] Braden, John, "Central Tennessee College," in Cummings, A. W., The Early Schools of Methodism (New York, 1886), p. 396.
[22] Catalogue of the Central Tennessee College, 1890-91, p. 72.

In 1866, the Freedmen's Aid Society took the school under its care, and secured a charter from the Legislature of the state of Tennessee. W. G. "Parson" Brownlow was the governor of the state at that time, and became a trustee of the college. He served in this capacity until his death, aiding the new school by affording protection and encouragement. During the year 1866 over eight hundred pupils enrolled for instruction.

A description of the Central Tennessee College and its student body by Bishop Gilbert Haven presents a vivid picture of the conditions in the schools of the Society of that time. He said:

> That school I visited in the fall of 1866. It was located in a building that had been used as a gun factory by the Confederate forces and confiscated by the National government. On rough benches sat rougher people--youth, children, men and women--in rags of linsey-woolsey and jeans, patched like Joseph's coat, not through pride and plenty, but through poverty, bootless and shoeless and stockingless, knowledgeless certainly, most would have said brainless. They were Isrealites without the Egyptian spoils, Isrealites in their original brick-kiln degradation, Isrealites despised by Egyptians, from whom they had escaped by other arms than their own, and despised by those who had, from their own motives of self-preservation, delivered them. There they sat, crouching over their primers, spelling with difficulty the easiest words, answering stammeringly the simplest questions, strong only in the gift of song and the faith of their teachers.[23]

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[23] Matlack, L. C., The Anti-Slavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Episcopal Church, pp. 342-343.

On another occasion, Bishop Haven stated that the students of this school "looked as if just out of the horrible pit; with no outward alteration conformable to the *inward*. Lazarus was still in his grave clothes, his head bound about with a napkin . . . When one saw them there was no beauty that he should desire them."[24]

In September, 1867, the school opened with a small attendance, as a small fee of one dollar per month was charged each pupil and the public free schools opened for the first time in the city of Nashville. The Reverend John Braden was appointed as president of the school in this year, and served in this capacity until his death in 1900.[25] His wife, Mrs. Braden, ably assisted her husband in the development of the school, and in times of financial stress, added her labor to that of Mr. Braden in providing for the comforts of the students and teachers. During these uncertain years, Mrs. Braden, "with her own needle, made sheets, pillow cases, pillow ticks, bed ticks for straw filling, tied or quilted comforts, besides helping arrange furniture in teachers' living rooms; and this in addition to the care of her home and family."[26]

The Freedmen's Aid Society was compelled to give up the Gun Factory in 1868, the Federal Government returning it to the citizens of Nashville who claimed it. After unsuccessfully endeavoring to purchase property in Nashville and other Middle Tennessee towns, the trustees of the school finally located property in Nashville worth fifteen thousand dollars. After securing this property, the Freedmen's Bureau made an appropriation of ten thousand dollars for the erection of suitable buildings.[27] General O. O. Howard took a deep interest in the struggling school, and by July 1869, he had contributed, through the Freedmen's Bureau, a total of $18,501 toward the erection of buildings.[28] In 1869, the college had three buildings, a chapel, dormitory, and a boarding house, and was described as a "noble college now, with the halls crowded with earnest students.[29]

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[24] *The Christian Advocate*, June 19, 1873.

[25] Braden, Mary E., *John Braden--A Pioneer in Negro Education* (Morristown, Tennessee, 1936), p. 25.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

The general progress of the students in Central Tennessee College is indicated in a communication to the Western Christian Advocate of August 25, 1869, by the Reverend D. Rutledge, who gave an account of a public examination held at the college during that year. He wrote:

> This was highly creditable to the institution and all concerned. Classes were examined in reading and spelling, from the First up to the Fifth Reader, giving evidence that they had been well taught in the elementary sounds, pauses, emphasis, and inflection. In geography, algebra, and arithmetic, two classes in each were examined, one in history, one in Latin, and one in theology. The examination was faithful, and open for questions from the visitors. Some in all the classes showed remarkable proficiency, and nearly all did well. In geography, they were ready in definitions and localities; in grammar, with rules and analysis; in algebra, great clearness of comprehension and statement. In Latin, part of the class were new beginners, the other part showed good memories, and had acquired great readiness in the elements of the language. In history and theology they were at home, as far as they had gone. The examinations occupied two days.[30]

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[27] Report of the F. A. S., 1868, p. 16; Northwestern Christian Advocate, September 16, 1868.

[28] Western Christian Advocate, July 7, 1869.

[29] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, p. 8.

[30] Western Christian Advocate, August 25, 1869.

In 1870, J. W. Alvord wrote to his superior, General O. O. Howard concerning the progress at the institution, informing the General that he had heard "accurate reading and spelling in the lower departments, good classes in the English branches, and recitations in mathematics and languages which would have done honor to students and professors in any institution."[31]

The first catalogue of Central Tennessee College was issued for the year 1869-1870. It reported an enrollment of 114 male and 127 female students, a total of 241. The students were classified in the following manner: 9 in the Preparatory department; 17 in the Theological department; 76 in the Academic department; and the others were enrolled in the Intermediate course.[32]

The data concerning the curriculum in these first schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society is scarce, and it is impossible to ascertain the subjects taught from the beginning of this particular school until the year 1869. From all indications, the courses were reading, writing, and arithmetic, supplemented with lectures on theology and the principles of teaching. In the catalogue of 1869-70 is found a complete curriculum, and it is given here as an example of such a course of study in the early Freedmen's schools. It is as follows:

INTERMEDIATE DEPARTMENT
First Year.
1st Session - Orthography,
Reading, Phonetics,
Arithmetic, Practical and Mental,

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[31] Alvord, J. W., Letters from the South, relating to the Condition of the Freedmen (Washington, 1870), pp. 31-32.
[32] Catalogue of the Central Tennessee College, 1869-70, pp. 3-10.

Penmanship,
Geography.
2nd Session -- Orthography,
Reading, Phonetics,
Arithmetic, Practical and Mental,
Penmanship,
Geography.
3d Session --Orthography, written exercises,
Reading, Phonetics,
Arithmetic, Practical and Mental,
Geography, Map Drawing,
Penmanship,

Second Year.

1st Session -- Orthography, written exercises,
Reading, Phonetics,
Arithmetic, Practical and Mental,
Geography, Map Drawing,
Penmanship,
English Grammar, Oral Lessons.
2d Session --Orthography, Definitions,
Reading, Phonetic,
Penmanship,
Arithmetic, Practical and Mental,
English Grammar, Sentence writing.
3rd Session --Orthography, with written definitions,
Reading, Phonetics,
Arithmetic, Practical and Mental,
Penmanship,
Geography, Map Drawing,
English Grammar, Sentence writing.

ACADEMIC AND NORMAL DEPARTMENT

First Year.

1st Session -- Arithmetic, Practical and Mental,
Physical Geography,
English Grammar,
Physiology, (Lectures.)
2nd Session --Arithmetic, Practical and Mental,
Physical Geography,
English Grammar,
Book-keeping,
Physiology, (Lectures.)
3rd Session --Arithmetic, Practical and Mental,
Physical Geography,
English Grammar,
Book-keeping,
Reviews.

Second Year.

1st Session--Algebra,

English Grammar,
History of the United States,
Natural Philosophy,
2nd Session --Algebra,
English Grammar,--Analysis,
History of the United States,
Natural Philosophy.
3d Session --Algebra,
English Grammar --Analysis,
History and Constitution of the United States,
Reviews.

(Students in the Academic and Normal Department were required to pursue a thorough course in Orthography--oral and written, Penmanship, Reading, with Composition and Elocutionary exercises. They were also required to hear classes recite, under the superintendance of teachers, and receive instruction in the Theory and Practice of Teaching.)

PREPARATORY DEPARTMENT

(In addition to the Academic Course, students preparing for the College classes, were required to complete the following course of study, or its equivalent):

McClintock's and Crook's First Book in Latin,
Latin Reader,
Harkness' Grammar,
Greek Grammar,
Greek Reader,
Antiquities,
Classical Geography.[33]

The curriculum of the theological department of Central Tennessee College in 1869-70 consisted of the following studies: Binney's Theological Compendium, Horne's Introduction, Kidder's Hornolitics, Church History, Evidences of Christianity, and Bible Chronology.[34]

The college made ample provisions for religious instruction of the students in the early years of its existence. At the opening and closing of school, each day, religious exercises were held.

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[33] Catalogue of the Central Tennessee College, 1869-70, pp. 10-12.
[34] Ibid., p. 12.

Students were required to attend Sunday school and public worship at such places as were designated by their parents or guardians, and those occupying rooms in the college building were required to attend religious services in the college chapel. While the college was under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and supported almost entirely by the Freedmen's Aid Society, it was not the desire of the administration to proselyte students of other faiths. The stated aim of the teachers was to "teach only those great principles of religion, which are designed to fit men and women to be truly useful in this life, and make them wise unto salvation."[35]

Under the wise leadership of President John Braden, the Central Tennessee College flourished during the years 1869-72. In the latter year, the buildings would no longer accommodate the students, who crowded every room. To meet this emergency a band of students of the college, known as the Tennesseans, sang throughout the North so successfully that eighteen thousand dollars was raised toward a new college building. In 1875, the building was finished and occupied by the students in that school year.

In 1875, through the assistance of Mr. Samuel Meharry, of Shawnee, Indiana, and Dr. W. J. Sneed of Nashville, Dr. G. W. Hubbard opened the Medical Department in the basement of one of the buildings of Central Tennessee College, and eight young men were admitted to the first class in medicine. Eventually this medical department developed into the Meharry Medical College, one of the most successful Negro medical schools in the United States.[36]

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[35] Ibid., p. 13.

In 1879, the Honorable John Lawrence of Nashville, volunteered to instruct young men who desired to study law. This he did without compensation other than tuition fees until 1889. A Dental Department was opened at Central Tennessee College in 1886, and the first class of three members was graduated in the following year. A new building for this department was dedicated in 1889 by the ex-President of the United States, Rutherford B. Hayes. The continued growth of the college made possible the opening of the John F. Slater Industrial Department in 1884, and in 1889 a Department of Pharmacy was organized. The growing demand for office workers led to the establishment of a short-hand and type-writing course in 1889, and it became one of the permanent departments of the school. In 1890, a Mechanic Art Shop was established for the purpose of training young men to become skilled in the working in brass, iron, and steel, in the manufacture of steam-engines, and scientific and philosophical apparatus.[37]

The success of the school in assisting in the development of the Negro race was being realized in 1875 at Central Tennessee College. Bishop Gilbert Haven stated in that year that "nowhere in the South has our educational work put on a better shape than at Central Tennessee College." In contrasting the condition of the student body in that year with what he had seen in 1866, Haven declared that students in "linsey-woolsey gowns, and ragged jackets and trousers, without shoes, without knowledge, without culture, almost without a consciousness of humanity" had developed into handsomely appareled, intelligent, and self-reliant human beings.[38] In contrast to the public examination held in 1869 which has been mentioned, the Reverend V. C. Randolph reported a similar examination held at Central Tennessee College in 1883, which reveals something of the progress made by the students from the elementary subjects to the higher branches of learning. He stated this development in the following words:

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[36] The detailed account of the contribution of this school will be treated in the following chapter under professional education of the Negro.

[37] _Catalogue of the Central Tennessee College_, 1890-91, pp. 73-74.

> It was my pleasure to attend several examinations. The Class in Binney's Theological Compend had evidently read the book to good effect. To each a topic was assigned and he would rapidly write the substance on the black board. One had the attributes of God; promptly and neatly he wrote them, giving the Scriptural proofs. Others did as well. The difficulties of logic were grappled with, and overcome by most of the class; readily the technicalities of that obstruse subject were put on the board and explained. The class in United States history answered questions quickly and with correctness. While listening to the young men and women read Xenophon giving the Greek a rich, African pronunciation and fluently rendering into English, one could almost see Cyrus's brave warriors overpowered by the dusky hordes of Artaxerxes and driven from the field of Cunaxa. In Nepos and Cicero the students acquitted themselves well, and reflected credit on their teachers. Older colleges have conferred the baccalaureate degree on students less accurate in their knowledge of Greek and Latin than some of these sons and daughters of parents lately in bondage. The ease and correctness with which the long, hard, but beautifully comprehensive, terms of botany were used was surprising. From the hovel on the back alley and the cabin in the woods to the baccalaureate degree, with all its accessories, is a long distance.[39]

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[38] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, pp. 18-19.
[39] Western Christian Advocate, June 13, 1883.

The president of the college, the Reverend John Braden reported an enrollment of over six hundred and fifty students in 1895, and the school which had been started in a basement of a church, had become a flourishing university with the following departments: The English, Normal, Preparatory, College, Theological, Medical, Pharmaceutical, Dental, Law, Music, and Industrial. The students in these departments had achieved their part in the lifting of their race from the conditions of the days of slavery. Dr. Braden revealed that they "are teachers in our common and high schools; professors in colleges; one a president of a university; successful at the bar; honored physicians, pharmacists, dentists; and occupy responsible positions as book-keepers, carpenters, printers, dress-makers, housekeepers; and successfully are following other useful occupations, and are making a record of which the Church need not be ashamed."[40]

In 1897, the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, in recognition of the early and long-continued service of Bishop John M. Walden, who served as president of the Society for many years, recommended that the several schools of Central Tennessee College be federated and the name changed to Walden University.[41] Although no action was taken in the 1890's, this recommendation was carried out in 1901, and the school took the name of Walden University.

At the close of the century, Central Tennessee College had enrolled in thirty-one years, in all departments, 6,220 students, and 576 students had been graduated.[42] Possibly no school of the Freedmen's Aid Society had a more encouraging growth than this institution. Since 1900, however, a series of circumstances and unfortunate incidents has hampered the growth of the school. In 1900 President Braden died and the school suffered the loss of his capable powers of administration. A disastrous fire in 1903 destroyed one of the buildings and twelve students lost their lives. Relatives of the dead and injured students brought suits against the institution to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. For years, while these suits were pending in the courts, the Society deemed it inadvisable to rebuild or to purchase new equipment for the school, and as a consequence its prestige declined. For some years the school was continued as the Walden School, but in recent years the buildings of the once flourishing college have been turned over to the Meharry Medical College, with the purpose of enlarging the scope and program of the latter school.[43]

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[40] The Christian Educator (February-March, 1895), p. 12.
[41] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1897, pp. 38-39.

In the death of President John Braden of Central Tennessee College, the Methodist Episcopal Church lost one of its oldest and most valued workers in the field of Negro education.[44] At the time of his death he had been in the work of the Society longer than any of his associates. From the beginning of his appointment as president of the school in 1867, the history of this pioneer educator was the history of Central Tennessee College, and vice versa. He lived to see the day when his neighbors, once his enemies, were his friends. More than six thousand Negro students came under his influence, and of this number three thousand went forth as Christian teachers to continue his benevolent work for the Negro race. Continuing in the spirit of her father, Miss Mary E. Braden continued his work, and served the school with distinction.

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[42] The Christian Educator (June-July, 1898), p. 125.

[43] Stowell, Jay S., Methodist Adventures in Negro Education (New York, 1922), pp. 171-172.

[44] Dr. E. E. Hoss, editor of the Nashville Christian Advocate, wrote of the contribution of Dr. Braden to Negro education in the issue of that paper on June 28, 1900: "Coming to Nashville at a time when prejudices ran high, he gave himself up wholly to his work, and adhered to it to the close of his life with a fidelity that was worthy of all admiration. His influence on the many thousand students who came under his supervision was altogether for good . . ."

Central Alabama Academy.

In 1866, the Freedmen's Aid Society established a school for the Freedmen at Huntsville, Alabama, which was operated under the names of Normal School, Rust Normal Institute, and Central Alabama Academy. The school was established primarily for the training of teachers in the state of Alabama, but it never was as successful as other schools founded by the Society.

The education of Negroes began at Huntsville, Alabama, during the days of the Civil War, when many "contrabands" collected in that place. In 1864, schools were opened by the chaplains of the different regiments of the Union army stationed in Huntsville. The chaplains gave their time during the week-days to the teaching of the "contrabands" who attended the schools in great numbers, and were reported to be "apt in the acquisition of knowledge, and anxious for instruction."[45] The first missionary teachers of the Methodist school at Huntsville were sent out by the Pittsburgh Aid Society in 1865, but in the following year, the organization withdrew from the field, and the Freedmen's Aid Society assumed control of the institution. In the first years of the school's existence, the teachers were so few and the scholars so many, that the latter were divided into sections and instructed separately, giving but a short time to each division. There were no school buildings, and the teachers were forced to gather the students into the crude Negro churches of the town. Teachers often worked from eight o'clock in the morning until five o'clock in the afternoon, with an hour's intermission, and then returned for a night session, lasting often until eleven o'clock. Such exhasuting labor brought its own penalty, and many able and earnest workers dropped out of the ranks, some never to return.[46] Soon afterward the state of Alabama organized a public-school system, which, though inefficient in many aspects, greatly relieved the crowded conditions at the Methodist school.

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[45] Christian Advocate and Journal, April 14, 1864.

In 1866, Dr. R. S. Rust purchased a site for the school, and money from the Freedmen's Aid Society and the Freedmen's Bureau was expended toward the erection of a school building and equipment. In 1869, the property of the school was estimated to be worth $7,000, and was reported to be free from indebtedness. In that year the school was under the management of Misses Hindman and Lakin, the latter a daughter of the Reverend A. S. Lakin who was largely instrumental in the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Alabama. The aim of Rust Institute in 1869 was largely the preparation of teachers for the Negro common schools which had been established by the reconstruction government of that state.[47]

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[46] Westtern Christian Advocate, July 10, 1878.

In 1871, the Freedmen's Aid Society proposed to establish a Biblical Department at Rust Institute for the preparation of ministers.[48] This was accomplished in the year 1873, and the name of the school was changed to the Rust Normal and Biblical Institute.[49] In 1875, the scholarship of the students at this school was reported to be good, "there being a class reading 'Caesar,' and studying 'Ray's Higher Algebra.'"[49] Although a few of the students had progressed this far in their academic pursuits, most of the students were in the elementary branches of study.

In spite of apparent success in the development of the students, the missionary teachers at Rust Institute met with many discouraging difficulties. In 1877, Miss Mary L. Raines, the principal of the school, reported that perhaps the most discouraging feature of the work was the readiness with which the most promising pupils were led astray, especially the older girls. Attributing this moral decay to the system of slavery, Miss Raines stated: "Those unacquainted with the results of slavery as exhibited in Southern society can not understand how difficult it is for this helpless people to withstand the crushing weight of temptation which assails them from within and without."[50] Many of the students at this school refused to continue in their studies until satisfactory results could be realized. In explaining this discouraging aspect of the work, Miss Raines said: "Just as they are well started, and bid fair to accomplish worthy results, they are obliged to leave school and go to some employment; so it is no wonder that we so often hear the complaint that book instruction is soon forgotten. In the first place it is not thoroughly learned, and in the second place, all their after surroundings serve rather to dispel than to conserve the results of school training . . . the home tendency is backward and but too often downward."[51]

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[47] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, p. 9.
[48] Ibid., 1871, p. 9.
[49] Ibid., 1873, p. 31.
[49] Ibid., 1875, p. 36.
[50] Ibid., 1877, p. 32.

At the end of the last decade of the century, the Huntsville school, known then as the Central Alabama Academy, had educated over two thousand Negro students. Many of its students had become teachers in Alabama and other states. Sometime later, the school was removed to Birmingham, Alabama. In 1923, the main building of the academy destroyed by a disastrous fire, and soon thereafter the institution was discontinued.

Rust University.

The Freedmen's Aid Society established a school in Holly Springs, Mississippi, in the year 1866, known at that time as Shaw University. Prior to the organization of this "university" by the Society, a school for the benefit of colored children was in operation at Holly Springs, under the supervision of two Southern men, Judge Watson and Kinlock Falkner.[52] For some unknown reason these early educators of the colored children withdrew from the enterprise, and the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church took over the school which the former had inaugurated. The Reverend A. C. McDonald was put in charge of the new school, and continued in this capacity until 1876. He seemed to have a great degree of success in establishing the foundations for the institution, for by his "untiring efforts, and the responsibility assumed in behalf of this enterprise," the colored people of the surrounding community had subscribed two thousand dollars toward the erection of buildings by the end of the year 1869. The Freedmen's Aid Society had persuaded the Freedmen's Bureau to assist in furnishing money for the institution, and in the same year the Society reported that the governmental agency had appropriated five thousand dollars toward the erection of the Normal School. Valuable property in the city of Holly Springs had been secured in 1869, and the institution was considered to be "full of promise, and the eyes of anxious students are turned toward it from the whole Mississippi Valley, and it promises to become a powerful instrumentality in the elevation of this race." [53] In that year this institution was the only one of high grade in Mississippi open to Negro students, and it was within the patronizing territory of over 100,000 Freedmen.[54]

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[51] Ibid., 1877, pp. 32-33.

[52] Garner, J. W., Reconstruction in Mississippi, p. 357, quoting the Hinds County Gazette, July 13, 1866.

The trustees of Shaw University petitioned the Legislature of Mississippi for a charter in 1870, and it was granted by that body in the same year.[55] In addition to this action, the Legislature of the state made an appropriation of four thousand dollars for the support of the Normal Department, and by an arrangement with the trustees, agreed to support the teachers of this department during the school year of 1870-1871. A Biblical Department was established at Shaw University during the year 1870 to prepare Negro ministers for service in the Mississippi Conference. Thus the school had expanded from the time of its establishment to include in this year the Normal, Biblical, and Preparatory Departments.[56]

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[53] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, p. 10.

[54] *Western Christian Advocate*, May 5, 1869.

[55] *Western Christian Advocate*, June 22, 1870.

The reports from Shaw University in 1872 revealed an enrollment of 260 students. The largest number of students were enrolled in the Preparatory Department, to which none were admitted "below the Third Reader."[57] The classification of the students were reported as the following: Preparatory Department, 158; Theological Department, 27; and Normal Department, 75. The president of the institution announced during this year that "we have 50 students in Practical Arithmetic, 31 in English Grammar, 16 in Natural Sciences, 2 in Algebra, and 9 in Latin."[58] The growth of the school was retarded by the lack of accommodations for students. Many of them had been refused admission for the lack of room, and teachers to instruct them. The president reported that "we could easily gather students to fill a building twice as large as our present one."[59]

That the teachers were also acting in the capacity of ministers of religion is evidenced by the report of 1870-1871. In one period of two weeks during this school term, a "wonderful work of grace" was reported to have brought about a marvelous change in the religious life of many of the students. "Twenty-five have been converted in one of our college rooms," said the report, "and an equal number at the church. All of our older students, both in the University and Normal School, except two, are either converted, or are seeking the Savior. The teachers labor harmoniously in this work, and the students all unite in the good cause."[60]

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[56] Report of the F. A. S., 1871, p. 10.
[57] Ibid., 1872, p. 15.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

Bishop Gilbert Haven visited the school at Holly Springs during the annual examinations in 1873 and was agreeably surprised at the progress attained by the Negroes in both the elementary studies and the classics. His description of the proceedings of this examination furnishes an insight into the proceedings of a Methodist Freedman's school of that time. He wrote:

> How competent are these skulls? Let us look and listen! There is a class in Physiology . . . Did you ever hear the multiplication-table of bones and muscles, and tendons and nerve-vessels, ever rattled off more fleetly or less ignorantly? Perhaps they don't know much of what they are saying; but that is the usual quality of such classes. They are none the less expert in recitation--that gift that always wins college valedictories, and sometimes the world's valedictories; but not so often. The spelling-bee takes place, and the half a hundred pupils stand as good a test as the Hoosier school-master, and better than most under-graduates could have done. Algebra is neatly and fleetly worked out; and Geometry shows that they can both draw and demonstrate skillfully. Not the poorest feature about this work is the penmanship, or chalkmanship. Some write admirably, and all write well . . . But what most takes us, is the Latin class. Not that it is necessarily the smartest, but it gives it that aristocratic touch that the English branches

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[60] Report of the F. A. S., 1872, p. 15.

> do not impart. Studying a foreign language is like visiting foreign lands--it is quality, blood, nobility. So we are glad to see these youths putting on this grace of culture. But what is chiefly attractive in this class is that little boy who stands at the foot, but is at the head. Only nine years old, and he renders Caesar correctly and fluently, does not slip on questions, and helps the lameness of his class-mates. I never saw so young a scholar so far advanced. Little Robby Green . . . has also the pleasure of having his mother in the same school and in some of the same classes.[61]

It was a difficult matter to keep the Negroes at Shaw University for any length of time, according to the reports of the institution. The demand for colored teachers was so great throughout the South that as soon as a student learned to read and write and employ the simplest methods of arithmetic, he was tempted to seek employment in that field. In 1875, the institution at Holly Springs had an enrollment of two hundred students, who averaged an attendance of six months each. More than one hundred of this number had been employed in the colored common schools of Mississippi in that year for a period of three months or more. It was reported that more than five thousand colored children had been taught by these partially trained teachers.[62] The teachers in the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society did not necessarily approve of this procedure, but they had little control over the students taking leave of the school when offered employment. Many of them were extremely poor, and this practice enabled them to continue their work at the institutions after teaching for a period of time in the common schools. The aim of the faculty at Shaw University was "to do no hot-house work, seeking to hurry students through a college curriculum, as do many mushroom schools in the South, sending them into the battle of life only to disgrace themselves and bring reproach upon the cause of education at large, but take the by far more difficult and tedious plan of trying to lay well a foundation for a broad, thorough, and practical education, such as shall fit our pupils for long lives of usefulness to themselves, their race, and the Church."[63]

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[61] Ibid., 1873, pp. 20-21.

[62] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, p. 24.

In 1882, the name of Shaw University was changed to Rust University, in honor of Dr. R. S. Rust, the Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society. This honor was conferred upon him because of his activities in establishing this school, and many others of the Society in the South.[64] The school could hardly be called a university, for the great majority of the students were in the common school branches of study. According to its catalogue of 1883-1885, the institution enrolled only nine students in the Collegiate Department, which roughly corresponded to our present day college. Seventy-five of its students during this time were classified as being in the Academic Department, which, although Latin and Greek were included in the curriculum, could be compared to the present day high-school. Out of a total of 379 students in the "university," 295 were in the elementary grades.[65] The Collegiate curriculum was composed largely of the classical studies, which trend was typical of the Negro college of that day. This classical course of study was used in all of the Methodist Negro colleges of that day and time, and is given here to illustrate the higher learning among the Negroes in 1883. The collegiate curriculum at Rust University is as follows:

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[63] Ibid., p. 25.
[64] Western Christian Advocate, June 21, 1882.
[65] Catalogue of Rust University, 1883-85, p. 15.

COLLEGIATE COURSE--CLASSICAL

Freshman Year.

First Term

Latin, Caesar and Prose Composition.
Greek, Anabasis and Prose Composition.
Mathematics, Trigonometry.

Second Term.

Latin, Caesar and Prose Composition.
Greek, Anabasis and Prose Composition.
Mathematics, Mensuration.

Third Term

Latin, Caesar and Prose Composition.
Greek, Memorabilia.
Mathematics, Surveying.

Sophomore Year.

First Term

Latin, Cicero's Orations.
Greek, Iliad.
Science, Chemistry.

Second Term.

Latin, Virgil's Aeneid.
Greek, Plato's Apology of Socrates.
Science, Chemistry.

Third Term.

Latin, Virgil's Aeneid.
Science, Botany.
Mathematics, Analytical Geometry.

Junior Year

First Term.

Latin, Cicero de Senectute.
Literature, English.
Science, Psychology.

Second Term.

Latin, Horace, Odes, and Epodes.
Science, Psychology and Mineralogy.

Third Term

Literature, Ancient.
Science, Psychology and Geology.

Senior Year.

First Term.

Philosophy, Theoretical Ethics,
Science, Logic and Rhetoric.

Second Term.

Philosophy, Practical Ethics.
Science, Rhetoric and Composition.
Belles Lettres, Elements of Criticism.

Third Term.

Mathematics, Astronomy.
Greek, New Testament.
Belle Lettres, Elements of Criticism.
Weekly exercises in Essay-writing and Elocution throughout the Course.

Elective Studies.

Latin, Juvenal, Tacitus, Livy and Plautus.
Greek, Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes and Sophocles' Antigones.[66]

Between the years 1885 and 1894 the curriculum at Rust University had so expanded that the institution was offering the entire program of educational endeavor, all the way from the primary department in the elementary school to the Doctor of Philosophy degree. The post graduate courses at Rust University were designed for the benefit of the graduates of the school who had taken their B. S. or Ph. B. degrees and wished to continue under the supervision and help of the faculty of that institution. The completion of three units of any course entitled the candidate to the Master of Arts degree, and six units to the Doctor of Philosophy degree. The Ph. D. matriculate was required "to present a thesis, of not less than four thousand words, on some subject connected with the department in which he has been at work."[67]

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[66] Catalogue of Rust University, 1883-85, pp. 19-20.
[67] Catalogue of Rust University, 1893-94, pp. 60-61.

The growth of Rust University was temporarily halted by a fire which destroyed the principal building in 1888, but a new building was erected a few years later, toward which Dr. Rust contributed five thousand dollars, and the citizens of Holly Springs, twenty-five hundred.[68] By 1892, the university had enlarged its work along the lines of industrial training through assistance from the Slater Fund, and many students were learning such trades as agriculture, printing, carpentry, house-keeping, sewing, cooking, dress-making, millinery, and shoe-making.[69] The student body of that year numbered 273, and were classified as follows: collegiate, 8; college preparatory, 25; normal, 69; and English or elementary, 173. In 1895, the president of the school, the Reverend C. E. Libby, reported that the degree of Master of Arts had been conferred upon one student; the Bachelor of Arts degree upon four; the Bachelor of Philosophy degree upon one student, and seven students had graduated from the Normal School. Most of these graduates secured positions in other schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society.[70]

If some of the Negro youth of the South had lost their desire for learning, three Negroes at least manifested a hunger for it in the year 1895. In relating the determination of these youths to be enrolled at Rust University, a correspondent to The Christian Educator said:

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[68] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1891, p. 183.
[69] Ibid., p. 182.
[70] The Christian Educator, (February-March, 1895), p. 15.

> Three bright young colored men walked three hundred miles at the beginning of a school year at Rust University, to be at school for the first day. Some one had told them that they would get their education at Rust University free. When they reached their destination they had hardly clothes enough to cover their nakedness, and were without a cent of money. The president . . . fixed them up with clothing, gave them a little work to do, and they started into school. They were cheerful and happy through all the year, and the three of them lived on less than $20 each for the seven months. They frequently came to school in the morning without having had any breakfast . . . They walked back to their home at the close of the school, and wrote the president a cheerful letter when reaching there.[71]

Such sacrifices and privations were often the lot of many of the colored students in the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society.

In 1898, Rust University had made a considerable contribution to the "elevation" of the emancipated slave. From the establishment of the school in 1866 to the closing years of the century, many Negro students had received the rudiments of education. The total number of graduates numbered 195, and were classified as follows: Post-graduate, 1; college course, 32; academic, 59; normal, 59; nurse-training, 40; and music, 4. Two university presidents were listed among its graduates, namely, E. Robert Fulkerson, Chinzei Gakkwan, Nagasaki, Japan, and Matthew W. Dogan, of Wiley University, the latter a school of the Freedmen's Aid Society. One graduate, the Reverend John L. Wilson, had been appointed as Principal of the Meridian Academy. Eight graduates in 1898 were teaching in various departments in the Negro universities of the South. Others were listed as successful principals in city schools, and a few of the graduates of the school were serving their people as physicians, nurses, merchants, government clerks, ministers, and common-school teachers.[72]

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[71] The Christian Educator (February-March, 1895), p. 35.

In the death of President Charles E. Libby in 1897, Rust University lost an able administrator. He was highly esteemed by the ministers and teachers of Mississippi, and was popular with the citizens of Holly Springs. While, in other sections of the South, much was heard and said concerning ostracism, Dr. Libby was well received by the Southern people. They appreciated his services among the Negroes of that section, and cooperated with him in the support of Rust University.

Among prominent Northern people who served on the faculty of this institution are Professor J. T. Hatfield,[73] later professor of German at Northwestern University for more than thirty years, and the mother of Dr. William Warren Sweet, at the present time professor of Church History at the University of Chicago.[74] The Reverend Hiram R. Revels, Negro United States Senator from Mississippi at one time, served on the faculty of Rust University as professor of Theology.

The school is known today as Rust College, a standard four-year institution, and accredited by the State Department of Education, the American Medical Association and the Association of Colleges for Negro Youths.

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[72] Ibid., (August-September, 1898), p. 139.
[73] Professor Hatfield is listed on the faculty of the institution in 1883-1885. Catalogue of Rust University, 1883-1885.
[74] Testimony of Dr. Sweet to the author.

Centenary Biblical Institute--(Morgan College).

The beginnings of Centenary Biblical Institute, in Baltimore, Maryland, were small and unpromising. This institution grew out of the celebration of the centenary of the introduction of the Methodist Episcopal Church into America in the year 1865. During that year collections were taken throughout the Church for the promotion of educational and missionary enterprises, and in view of the need of education among the Freedmen, the Missionary Society of the Church appropriated $5,000 for the commencement of the work among the colored people of Baltimore and vicinity. Bishop Ames and Scott met with several Methodist laymen in Baltimore on December 25, 1866, and laid the plans for the establishment of an institution of learning for the Negroes.[75]

Before the trustees of the institution secured a charter from the Superior Court of the City of Baltimore on November 27, 1867, some instruction had been given in the form of lectures to young men who were preparing for the Christian ministry. These students were not connected with the Institute at first, but later were taken over by the institution when buildings were provided for its use. On October 19, 1868, the Board of Trustees of Centenary Biblical Institute adopted a resolution appointing J. H. Brown and William Harden, professors in the Institute, with the request that they secure a place of meeting and organize classes of colored ministers and licentiates for theological training, and to arrange a course of study.[76] On February 19, 1869, Professors Brown and Harden reported that the young colored preachers, some twenty in number, had been attending the Institute. For their labors in the classroom, the treasurer's report in that year showed that Professors Brown and Harden jointly had received the sum of seventy-five dollars for three month's salary.[77]

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[75] Spencer, J. O., "Morgan College," in The Morgan College Bulletin (March, 1935), p. 4.

In December, 1869, an effort was made to secure the interest of the colored people in the several colored Conferences surrounding Baltimore in the work of the Institute, inviting them to meet with the Board of Trustees and confer with them in relation to the best interests of education among the colored people. In 1872, this policy culminated in the election of four colored ministers to full membership in the Board of Trustees. These appointments were made on nomination of the Board by Bishops Simpson, Ames, and Janes of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This is probably one of the earliest proposals to definitely link the colored constituency to the management of a regularly chartered educational institution for the Negro people. The Negro ministers and their successors gave valuable assistance to the Institute, and were instrumental in its growth and development.

Up until 1872, Centenary Biblical Institute had no building and carried along its educational program with only voluntary teachers. Steps were taken in that year to secure a permanent location for the school, and property was secured in Baltimore for $7,500. After securing the property for the school, the board of trustees turned its attention to securing students, and sent advertisements of the new school throughout the Washington, Delaware, and Baltimore Conferences.[78] The school was formally opened in October, 1872, with an enrollment of nine students.[78a] Much of the work up until 1872, had been of an elementary nature, and in a rather disorganized state.

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[76] Ibid., (May, 1935), p. 5.
[77] Ibid., p. 6.

The Reverend J. Emory Round, of New England, a graduate of Wesleyan University, was elected president of Centenary Biblical Institute in 1872. It will be remembered that Round had previous experience in the South among the Negroes in organizing the Methodist Episcopal Church in North Carolina and Virginia following the Civil War. He was described as a man having "persuasive powers as a teacher and of commanding energy as an administrator."[79] During his administration from 1872-1882, the institution increased in size and influence. His administration was marked by an austere discipline, which at times was amusing. One of the students being guilty of an offense particularly annoying was brought before the president, who thundered at the quaking youth, "Do you want to walk out of this school as a man, be carried out by the police, or be kicked out like a dog?" The boy meekly said, "I will be kicked out like a dog."[80] It is reported that on another occasion during his administration, Dr. Round was arrested and sent to jail, charged with

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[78] Spencer, op. cit., (June 1935), p. 4.
[78a] Report of the F. A. S., 1873, p. 30.
[79] Spencer, op. cit., (June, 1935), p. 5.
[80] Quoted by Spencer in the Morgan College Bulletin (October, 1935), p.3.

"harboring and illegally encouraging Negroes to vote." The account of this incident is not clearly stated in the Minutes of the Board of Trustees, however, the record of November 4, 1875, states: "A statement was requested from Brother Round in relation to treatment on Election Day. Brother Brown and Brother Daniel moved and seconded that Brother Round's statement be published."[81]

In 1875, provisions were made for the training of teachers and the doors of the institution were opened to such "young men of good moral character, likely to do good service in teaching." The total number of students in attendance during that year was fifty-six, of whom thirty-five were either ministers or candidates for the ministry. Twenty-one of the students were preparing to teach. In reporting the results of Centenary Biblical Institute up to 1875, Dr. Round wrote:

> Twenty-eight members of annual conferences have received more or less of the benefits of our instruction since the Institute was organized, either before or since they entered the ministry. About forty others are in the local ministry. Twenty-three of our students are known to have done good service in teaching. None of them have completed our full normal course as yet, but all of them are qualified far better than the average of teachers employed in colored schools.[82]

That Dr. Round was a thorough educator, and opposed to any attempt at the Institute to rush the Negroes through a superficial type of training is evidenced by his opinions concerning this policy in 1875.

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[81] Ibid., p. 3.
[82] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, p. 39.

He stated:

> A more thorough training in elementary branches for both preachers and teachers is the most urgent necessity of the hour. The natural tendency, in all ignorant communities that aspire after improvement, is to acquire a superficial acquaintance with many books, without a real knowledge of any. In a certain sense, it would be easy to yield to this tendency; to make the past misfortunes of the race an excuse for a rapid, unsystematic, half-culture; to teach Latin and Algebra, after a certain fashion, to those who have an imperfect acquaintance with English Orthography and Long Division; to rush through book after book, and grade after grade; and, finally, to confer degrees upon students who would scarcely be out of the Grammar School, but for the allowance which a sadly mistaken charity makes for their color.[83]

In the early 1870's the Freedmen's Aid Society attempted to dictate the policies of the Centenary Biblical Institute, which action the Board of Trustees vigorously opposed. The Institute, unlike most of the schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South, was organized with large powers resident in the local Board of Trustees. Aside from the relatively small sum of $5,000 donated by the Missionary Society toward its establishment in 1867, the members of the Baltimore, Washington, and Delaware Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church largely supported the institution. In 1878, the four conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in that section, namely, the Baltimore and Wilmington (white) and the Washington and Delaware (colored), made an arrangement to support the Negro institution and sponsor its work. With this making of a distinct appeal to a definite area for the support of a certain school, the work of the Institute was carried on until after the close of the century. Although the Freedmen's Aid Society did not control the policies of the school, it made several substantial grants of money from time to time, and aided in the support of the teachers.

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[83] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, p. 59.

Between 1880-1890 several incidents in the development of the Institute served to influence its future growth. In the former year, the Reverend John F. Goucher presented the Institute with a plot of ground in the city of Baltimore, upon which an adequate building was erected. In 1886, a branch school, called the Princess Anne Academy was established at Princess Anne, Maryland, with special reference to the needs of the Delaware Conference colored people. It was controlled by the Board of Trustees of Centenary Biblical Institute, and served as a "feeder" for that institution. The curriculum of the Princess Anne Academy was entirely of an elementary character with additional courses in manual training and trades. At the present time, this school exists as the Eastern Branch of the University of Maryland. In 1890, the name of Centenary Biblical Institute was changed to Morgan College, in honor of the Reverend Lyttleton F. Morgan, who contributed a considerable sum to the school. In the same year, the curriculum of the school was enlarged to include collegiate training, women students were admitted, and it gradually lost its original aim as a school for Biblical and normal training.

This trend toward the abandonment of the school's original purpose was noticed by the Board of Trustees in 1883. In a lengthy report of a special committee some "anomalies existing in the present practical conduct of the institution" were pointed out, and complaint was made that the school had drifted away from theological to secular training. In its report, the special committee stated:

> Now turning to the Catalogue for 1882, we find that in an institution whose design is stated to be the education of pious *young men* for the *ministry*, out of a total of 136 students 36 are *young women;* and of the remaining 100 only 31 are indicated as students for the ministry. This is not the most unfavorable feature of the case. Of these thirty-one who are students for the ministry, not a single one, if we are correctly informed, is pursuing a course of Biblical and Theological study, but all are students in the department properly designated as preparatory. In fact after eleven years of work the Centenary Biblical Institute has never graduated a student in the Theological Course, has no students now pursuing a Theological Course, and is in truth not a Biblical Institute at all, but only an ordinary academy of little more than primary grade.[84]

Admission was frankly made in this report "that the ideal Biblical Institute is yet quite out of the question owing to the condition and necessities of the work the Church is doing among the colored race," yet the committee urged a return as far as possible to the Biblical Institute idea. Nevertheless, the secularization process continued, eventually resulting in the establishment of the liberal arts curriculum.

In 1891, another branch of Morgan College was established at Lynchburg, Virginia, and named the Virginia Collegiate and Industrial Institute. It was operated as an elementary and secondary institution until it was destroyed by fire in 1918, after which the students and teachers were transferred to Morgan College at Baltimore.

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[84] As quoted by Spencer in the Morgan College Bulletin, (March, 1937), p. 6.

At the close of the century, Morgan College offered the Normal, College Preparatory, College, and Theological courses complete, with a post-graduate course in Theology leading to the Bachelor of Divinity degree. In 1899, President John F. Wagner reported that in addition to 4,000 students who had received partial training at the institution, two hundred had graduated from the different departments. Fifty of the graduates were in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church and were reported to be "the glory of the Washington and Delaware Conferences." Seventeen of the graduates had studies law; eight were physicians; and forty-five were teachers in the public schools and colleges. Of those who did not graduate from the institution "many are ministers, a few are lawyers, and many are in business." Dr. Wagner stated in that year that many of the graduates of Morgan College had taken special courses in Pharmacy, Medicine, Law, and Literature at such institutions as Harvard, Yale, Boston, University of Michigan, and Howard University.[85] The endowment of the college in 1899 had reached $20,000, and plans were being made to increase it to $100,000.

After 1900, during the administration of Dr. John O. Spencer, the assets of Morgan College, through gifts from the Carnegie Corporation, General Education Board, Rosenwald Fund, and the Methodist

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[85] The Christian Educator (October-November, 1899), pp. 170-171.

Episcopal Church, grew from $103,000 to close to a million dollars in 1932. From a student body of nine theological students and one teacher in 1869, the school had grown to such an extend by 1932 that 866 students were reported under the instruction of a faculty of forty-eight members.[86]

Haven Normal School.

This school, later known as Haven Normal Academy, was established in Waynesboro, Georgia, in 1868 through the influence of the Reverend J. Spillman. It was located in one of the most thickly populated regions of Georgia, where the Negroes outnumbered the white people by a ratio of four to one. There were no schools for the colored people in the entire section of the country at that time. The school had been operated chiefly by the Methodist missionaries from the time of its establishment until 1872. In that year the report of the Freedmen's Aid Society stated that it was under the management of the Reverend J. R. Goodier and his wife, "whose labors in the pulpit, Sunday-school, and day school, have been abundant and successful."[87] The report added that the school had thus far justified its existence and a "great change has been wrought, through the influence of the school, perceptible in the conduct and manners of the children and the intelligence and morality of the people."[88] A few young men were studying for the ministry, and the two teachers were attempting to devote especial attention to those who intended to "preach the Gospel, or to teach."[89]

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[86] Statistics as given in an Announcement of the Sixty-fifth Anniversary of the founding of Morgan College and the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Presidency of John Oakley Spencer, 1932.
[87] Report of the F. A. S., 1872, p. 21.
[88] Ibid.

In 1875, the Principal of the school, the Reverend C. W. M'Mahon reported conditions at this institution in the following words:

> From twenty to forty miles around us, in every direction, this country swarms with colored people, and ours is the only school of importance, designed for them that exists in all this large territory--in fact, the only one of its kind. For several years this school has been working here with constantly increasing efficiency and influence, until now its influence with these masses is incalculably great. Our school numbers one hundred and thirty pupils, one-third of whom come from such a distance that they are obliged to board in the town; and this number of boarders is constantly increasing. The character of the school is also improving; for many of the pupils are young men and women of age and attainments; so that we have a normal school, not only in name, but in reality.[90]

The greatest problem confronting the teachers of Haven Normal School in 1875 was a suitable building in which to house the school. The building used at that time was "one of the extremely uncomfortable churches which are so common in this country." Attempting to remedy this situation, the teachers had a building in process of construction, which they stated would meet the present necessities. The description of the building furnishes a glimpse of many of the Negro schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society of that time: "It is sixty-six feet in length by thirty-eight in width, and three stories high. The first story (the basement) is designed for kitchen, dining-room, etc.; the second story, for main school-room, recitation-rooms, and hall; and the third story, for lodging rooms, with attic above that."[91] This building, said the teachers, would adequately meet the needs of more than one-hundred and thirty students.

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[89] Ibid., p. 21.
[90] Ibid., 1875, p. 34.

In 1877, Bishop Gilbert Haven purchased some property adjoining the school and aided in the completion of the building already under construction. The faculty was also strengthened in that year by the addition of Professor Coburn, a graduate of Wesleyan University.

The conditions of the students as reported in 1879 reveals the determination of the colored youth in that section to secure an education. Many of the students made great sacrifices to attend Haven Normal School. The Principal reported in that year that "many come a month and then go home to earn money for another month. One young man cooks a little plain food three times a week, puts it in a quart bucket, and remains at school on the little money he can earn. Another walks fifteen miles home every Friday after school and returns promptly Monday morning, 'toting' his week's meal on his shoulder. They desire education, and some of them show great heroism and sacrifice in obtaining it."[92]

In 1879 the Haven Normal School boasted of three courses of instruction, namely, the English, Normal, and Theological, but by 1888 the course of instruction had dwindled to the elementary grades alone. As a strictly primary school, the students numbered 167 in the latter year. One teacher, Miss Carrie Fairchild, carried the full load of teaching for the entire student body.

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[91] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, p. 35.
[92] Ibid., 1879, p. 44.

Opposition developed among the white people of Waynesboro toward the institution, and it was reported that "intense prejudice against this school has several times manifested itself from some of the white people, who object to having white teachers from the North, or, in fact, any white teachers, in colored schools. The feeling was so bitter at one time, only a few months ago, that Miss Fairchild was refused a meal at the town hotel."[93] Although better feeling prevailed toward the beginning of the last decade of the century, the Freedmen's Aid Society planned to withdraw its support from the institution. There was some discussion among the officers of the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society to discontinue the Haven School on on the ground that the increased facilities offered by the public schools and the resources of the Society were needed to build up Clark University in Atlanta. The Board reasoned that such students that wished more than a common school education could conveniently attend the latter institution.[94] The situation at Haven Academy was further aggravated by a fire in 1897, which completely destroyed the buildings. In the following year, the Society made no appropriation to the school, but appropriations from the colored people served to keep the institution intact. In 1899, the Freedmen's Aid Society agreed to make an appropriation equal to the amount of money raised for the Society by the colored people of the Waynesboro District of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in the following years changed its policy toward discontinuing the school. Continuing its program of offering elementary education to the colored children for two decades in the Twentieth Century, the school was finally abandoned about the year 1920. The school averaged well over one hundred students for a period of forty years, and made a distinct contribution to the education of the colored race.

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[93] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1892, p. 49.

[94] J. C. Hartzell to Miss Carrie Fairchild, August 30, 1888. Hartzell Papers.

Richmond Normal School.

This school was founded in 1867 by the Freedmen's Aid Society in Richmond, Virginia, but was discontinued in 1875. Little is known concerning the school, except a brief sketch of the institution in the reports of the Society for 1872 and 1873. In 1872, the Richmond Normal School occupied "very handsome buildings, erected for it, a year ago, at a cost of $25,000."[95] The institution was reported to have a complete equipment including philosophical apparatus, library, wall-maps, globes, piano, and organ.

There are no statistics concerning the school prior to 1872, but in that year it had two departments, namely a "grammar" department, and a normal department. The students in the former department numbered forty-five, who were under preparation for the normal course, and a model school of thirty scholars, in which the normal pupils obtained their first practical experience in teaching, under the direction and criticism of their own teachers. The normal department, which was considered the most important branch of the school, had an enrollment of seventy-five pupils. The school was reported to be the most complete educational institution, for either race, in the city of Richmond; the discipline and instruction were thorough and exact, and the "best fruits" of the program of education for the Negroes of the city had already been realized.

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[95] Report of the _F. A. S._, 1872, p. 25.

According to the report of 1872, the Superintendent of Public Schools of Virginia officially advised his county superintendents to visit the school and observe the method of the Methodists in their operation of the institution. "Such a visit," he said, "will wholly relieve any curable case of skepticism in regard to the capacity of the negro to receive a good education."[96]

In establishing the normal school at Richmond, the Freedmen's Aid Society was attempting to meet the need of Negro teachers for the common schools of Virginia, which had been established by the state reconstruction government following the war. If the reports of the Freedmen's Aid Society are correct, the demand for colored teachers was so great that the Methodist school could not train them rapidly enough to meet the need. Concerning this difficulty the report of the Society announced:

> If we could supply a dozen teachers where we can but one, still we could not meet the demand for well-trained colored teachers. County Superintendents from all parts of the State write, asking for from two to ten teachers

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[96] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

> each for their respective localities, and speak in the highest terms of the few we can furnish. Tens of thousands of colored children, in the rural districts of Virginia, are growing up in the blank ignorance of old slave times, simply because competent white persons will not teach them, and colored teachers can not be found to meet the demand. The public school system of the State is partially in operation, but is taking no steps to supply trained teachers, even for the favored race. Indeed, the State can not do more, for the lack of financial ability. For the colored people, nothing but the most elementary instruction in primary schools will be furnished for years to come. One link, then, is wanting; namely, teacher's training or normal schools. This link must be supplied by the Christian patriotism of the North. The colored people of the South have a claim which no heathen nation has on us, and we owe them a debt which we owe to no other people--a debt that can only be paid by taking off from them the shackles of ignorance, as the necessary supplement of civil freedom.[97]

The teaching staff of the institution in 1872 and 1873 consisted of three persons. The Reverend R. M. Manly, A. M., was the Principal, and Miss M. E. Stratton and Miss Kate E. Manly, assistant teachers.

In 1873, the curriculum of the Richmond Normal School consisted of the following branches of study: Botany, Physical Geography, Descriptive Geography and Map-drawing, Latin, Arithmetic, Algebra, Grammar, and Chemistry. The results of an examination at the close of the school-term in 1873 revealed the scholastic standing of the pupils in that year. The maximum one hundred was obtained by no scholar, but eight of the students reached as high as ninety, some of them getting as high as ninety-six; twenty-two received grades varying from eighty to ninety. While conferring the diplomas that year, Mr. Manly remarked that it was the first time they had ever been given in the school. They were only awarded to those students whose scholarship had reached the grade of seventy, and who had taught successfully in the model-school, and whom the directors believed were well qualified to teach in the common schools.

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[97] Report of the F. A. S., 1872, pp. 25-26.

After the school had been in operation for six years, several of its pupils were members of various colleges and studying for higher degrees, some had graduated from the normal school, and a number were reported to be teaching in the public schools of the city or state. In 1873, the student body of the Richmond Normal School numbered one hundred and twenty-four pupils, eighty-nine of whom were in the normal department and thirty-five in the model school.[98] Although the institution was discontinued by the Society, it contributed its share to the training of teachers in the few years of its existence.

Rome Normal School.

The Rome Normal School at Rome, Georgia, was an outgrowth of an elementary school established by the Freedmen's Aid Society in the first years of its existence. Under the supervision of the Methodist missionaries, the institution provided for the training of teachers and ministers among the colored people.[99] After a few successful years in operation, the Society discontinued this normal school in the 1870's and centered its resources in the development of Clark University at Atlanta.

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[98] Report of the F. A. S., 1873, p. 32.
[99] Ibid., 1872, p. 21.

Claflin University.

The first attempt of the Methodist Episcopal Church to establish an institution of learning for the Negroes of South Carolina, was undertaken at Camden, sometime before 1868. In a letter to The Christian Advocate, dated March 23, 1868, Miss Sarah Babcock stated that the "first normal and training school for freedmen in the state is now in successful operation."[100] The school was started at the suggestion of the Reverend T. Willard Lewis, who was the chief organizer of the Methodist Episcopal Church in South Carolina. The school at Camden had but one teacher, toward whose support the Freedmen's Aid Society contributed fifteen dollars a month.[101]

Almost at the same time, Lewis and the Reverend Alonzo Webster found quite a number of young colored men of Charleston who desired to study for the ministry. With suitable education and training, they saw that these could be usefully employed as agents for the evangelization of their race, "many of whom were hungering for knowledge and thirsting for the waters of life."[102] Realizing that a school would be necessary to the complete success of their work among the Negroes of that section, Webster, Lewis, and others, established a school at Charleston in 1866 known as the Baker Theological Institute. As temporary quarters for the school, the Ball Mansion, an old Southern home, was secured by the trustees. The main edifice was used for teachers' residences, class-rooms, and boarding hall. The servants' quarters in the rear of the mansion were used as dormitories. The first teachers of the Baker Theological Institute were: Rev. T. W. Lewis, president; Alonzo Webster, and C. P. Wolhaupter. The teachers soon found as many students eager for instruction as they had time to devote to them, as Lewis and Webster had large pastoral charges to visit which practically covered the entire state of South Carolina.

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[100] Letter of Miss Sarah Babcock to The Christian Advocate, April 9, 1868.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Cummings, op. cit., p. 419.

In 1869, a report to the Freedmen's Aid Society declared that the efforts of the teachers at Baker Institute had been successful. It reads:

> This school has been conducted with great success, and has furnished several classes of promising young men for teachers and ministers. The South Carolina Conference has been strengthened by students educated here, and they have entered upon the service of Christ with the firm belief that they were called of God to this mission, and have spurned tempting offers of wealth, office, and political preferment, that they might consecrate themselves wholly to the work of the ministry.[103]

In the same year Lewis and Webster made plans to establish a larger institution of learning for the colored people of the state, which would meet the general demand for educational training. At the same time it appears that some assistance was offered toward the realization of the project by the Honorable Lee Claflin, Governor of Massachusetts, and a devout Methodist. According to Lewis, he and Webster, "without knowing where a dollar was coming from to pay for it," purchased the Orangeburgh Female College which had several buildings and ample grounds, for $5,000. Lewis reported that the transaction was a bargain, for the school had cost $40,000 in 1854.[104] Having provided the physical plant, Lewis and Webster proposed to establish an institution with four departments, namely, a College, Theological, Normal, and Preparatory, and "open to all without regard to color, race, or sex."[105] After planning to petition the South Carolina Legislature to incorporate the institution under the name of Claflin University, Webster made a trip to the North to raise money for the new school. He seems to have had considerable success in obtaining money from Governor Claflin and others, for in December 1869, Lewis and Webster sent a letter to the friends of Negro education, asking for contributions with which to eliminate the remaining debt of $2,000 on the school property, "for which we stand personally pledged, on the first of January next."[106]

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[103] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, pp. 9-10.

A charter was granted by the State Legislature in 1869 for Claflin University, and the normal school which was begun at Camden, along with the Baker Theological Institute at Charleston, were incorporated into the university at Orangeburg.[107] Some assistance was also realized from the Freedmen's Bureau in 1870 when this agency contributed $2,500 for the repairing of the buildings which had deteriorated during the war.[108] After attending to the details of organizing the institution, Dr. Webster, as president, opened the university under favorable conditions. With the assistance of one teacher, H. J. Moore, three hundred and nine students were instructed during the first year. Deprived of his co-worker Lewis, who was stricken in 1871 when a scourge of yellow fever visited Charleston, Dr. Webster carried the full load of guiding the destinies of the struggling school.

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[104] Letter of Lewis to The Christian Advocate, August 19, 1869.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Randolph, J. B., History of Claflin College--Compiled from Various Sources, pp. 16-17.
[107] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1900, p.753.
[108] Alvord, J. W., Report of Conditions among the Freedmen, January 1, 1870. p. 25

Mainly through the untiring efforts of Dr. Webster, an act was prepared and passed through the State Legislature in 1872, locating one department of the State Agricultural College at Orangeburg, in connection with Claflin University. An experimental farm adjoining the Claflin campus, and containing about one hundred and sixteen acres, was purchased. In addition to his other dutires, Dr. Webster was placed in charge of this department of the college. Industrial training was also provided for the students at Claflin. Beginning in 1883, the trustees of the John F. Slater Fund contributed regularly to this work, making Claflin one of the most noted Negro schools in the South for industrial education.

In 1874, Dr. Webster tendered his resignation as president of the university, and the Reverend Edward Cooke, of Massachusetts, was elected to fill the vacancy. Up until this time, Claflin had been a brave but meager experiment in Negro education. Such were the conditions of poverty among the students that many of its one hundred and ten students were forced to cook their own food. The faculty of five was able to give only the primary elements of instruction.[109]

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[109] Southern Christian Advocate, February 4, 1874.

Adding to the already difficult conditions, the teachers at Claflin were ostracized and persecuted by the native whites.[110] In 1876, disaster came to the developing school, when fire destroyed the main building and the class room building, but the trustees of the institution urged Dr. Cooke to allow no "interruption or alteration of the established order of instruction." The President of Claflin, ex-President Webster, and the trustees, supported by the South Carolina Conference, turned from the misfortune which took away the work of years, and with dauntless determination continued to carry forward the development of the institution.

The new building had been completed in 1877, and the number of students had been kept up to previous figures. In that year Dr. Cooke announced that the scholarship was advancing among the students, some of them being ready for college classes. This upward extension of the curriculum was effected the following year, offering instruction in natural philosophy, chemistry, higher mathematics, and classical studies. In 1877 the specific work of the institution had been as follows: First, instruction in the ordinary branches of an English education; second, the classical preparation of those wishing to enter college; third, the preparation of teachers for the common schools; fourth, Biblical instruction of young men preparing for the Christian ministry.[111] Most of the students were enrolled in the elementary branches of study in 1877, but a few students were already studying the classics. On a visit to the institution in 1877, Dr. R. S. Rust, of the Freedmen's Aid Society, reported that "we listened with great pleasure to recitations of classes in rhetoric, higher mathematics, natural philosophy, Caesar, Virgil, and Anabasis, and these recitations would have been creditable to similar classes in our Northern seminaries." In announcing the results of Negro education at Claflin to the Methodists of the North, Dr. Rust stated that the school "has furnished a large number of the best trained teachers for the common schools of the State, which fact has been recognized by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and handsomely acknowledged in his Annual Report.[112]

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[110] Report of the F. A. S., 1874, p. 11.
[111] Report of the F. A. S., 1877, p. 20.

The trustees of the university found themselves in financial trouble after the fire of 1876. Forced to borrow money for the support of the school, they called the Reverend Lewis M. Dunton to act as an agent for the collection of money in the North. He accepted the position, and began a period of service at Claflin University University which lasted for nearly a half a century. He became the president of Claflin University in 1884, and after that date the remarkable development of the institution was closely interwoven with the earnest service of this Christian educator. His wife, Mrs. Dunton, also made a great contribution to the development of Claflin. Although working without salary for most of the time, she gave herself unreservedly in the classroom and in the field, promoting the work.

When Dr. Dunton assumed leadership of the university, 906 students were in attendance, only twelve of whom were in the college courses. The first degrees were granted in 1883, D. W. Harth and Daniel M. Minus receiving the Bachelor of Arts diploma. Under Dr. Dunton's administration the student body increased so rapidly that in 1889 three men students were sleeping in one bed. A young lady approached President Dunton one morning and said: "Doctor, we must have another bed in our room; last night six of us had to do the best we could with one bed."[113]

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[112] Western Christian Advocate, May 2, 1877.

By 1890, Claflin University offered, besides the regular courses of instruction, courses in Art and Decoration, Blacksmithing, Brickmaking, Cabinet making, Carpentry, Cooking, Crocheting, Drawing, Dressmaking, Engineering, Gardening, Glazing, Graining, Housekeeping, Laundering, Masonry, Painting, Printing, Shoemaking, and the Care of Livestock. In 1895, the institution was receiving support from the Morrill Fund, The State Land Scrip, Slater and Peabody Funds, and the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Slater Fund alone contributed $4,000 on the salaries of the industrial teachers.

In 1896, by an act approved by the General Assembly of South Carolina, the State Agricultural and Mechanical College was separated from Claflin University. This department of the state-supported school had been connected with the university since 1872, and had contributed a considdrable sum toward its support. In 1880, the General Assembly was appropriating $8,000 a year to the department, and the loss of these funds seriously effected the financial condition of the school for some time. Agitation had been brewing among the colored South Carolina Conference for some time to destroy the relation of the school to the state, so that it might gain entire control of the institution.[114] During a faculty meeting in 1890, Professor Cardozo and DeTreville, the latter a white teacher paid by the state, started an argument which resulted in DeTreville assaulting Cardozo with a cane. Both were forced to resign, and the encounter hastened the separation of the institution.[114a] The Governor of South Carolina summoned Dr. J. W. Hamilton, Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, to Orangeburg, and requested him to serve on a commission to divorce the State College from the Methodist school.[115] The Society attempted to purchase the state interest, but the trustees declined to sell the property.[116] In the settlement between the two factions, some of the buildings were given to the state of South Carolina, and the Methodist Society was forced to raise money for the erection of new buildings. Dr. Dunton, who was very successful in collecting funds for the institution, took a trip through the North for this purpose.[117] He succeeded on this mission, according to Dr. Hamilton, who stated in The Christian Educator: "If all the schools of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society were to have such success in raising money as the Claflin University, we would feel that there was a chance soon to get our work done and be off for heaven."[118]

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[113] The Christian Educator (October, 1889), p. 27.

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[114] Letter of J. C. Hartzell to Rev. A. E. P. Albert, April 7, 1890. Hartzell Papers.

[114a] Hartzell to Governor J. P. Richardson, April 14, 1890. Hartzell Papers.

[115] Hamilton to Reverend Criss, June 19, 1896. Hamilton Papers.

[116] Hamilton to Hon. J. G. Evans, June 30, 1896. Hamilton Papers.

[117] Hamilton to Bishop Mallalieu, September 10, 1896; The Christian Educator (August-September, 1897), p. 132.

The painstaking economy with which the school officers in the South conducted their institutions during these years is shown by the expenses of the students at Claflin University during the 1900's. President Dunton so successfully conducted the affairs of the institution that the cost of meals for each boarder was only four dollars per month. The bill of fare at **Claflin** was fixed by a committee of students, and it is quoted to reveal the sacrifices which many students in the Negro schools made in order to secure educational advantages. The menu at Claflin in 1890 is as follows:

Breakfast.

Monday - Oatmeal, milk, sugar, hominy, beef and bread.
Tuesday - Oatmeal, milk, sugar, hominy, ham and bread.
Wednesday - Oatmeal, milk, sugar, hominy, bacon, bread and butter.
Thursday - Oatmeal, milk, sugar, hominy, ham and bread.
Friday - Oatmeal, milk, sugar, hominy, bread, bacon and butter.
Saturday - Oatmeal, milk, sugar, hominy, bread and bacon.
Sunday - Oatmeal, milk, sugar, hominy, bread and beef-steak.

Dinner.

Monday - Rice, potatoes, beef-stew and bread.
Tuesday - Rice, potatoes, bread and white beans.
Wednesday - Rice, potatoes, bread and cabbage.
Thursday - Rice, potatoes, sugar-peas and dessert.
Friday - Rice, potatoes, bread and tomato-soup.
Saturday - Rice, potatoes, bread and turnips.
Sunday - Rice, potatoes, pork, and tomato-pie.

Supper.

Monday - Lightbread, syrup, and cornbread.

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[118] The Christian Educator (February-March, 1898), p. 76.

> Tuesday - Lightbread, syrup, hominy and butter.
> Wednesday - Lightbread, syrup, potatoes and cornbread.
> Thursday - Lightbread, syrup, cornbread, and marvels.
> Friday - Lightbread, syrup, cornbread and herring.
> Saturday - Lightbread, syrup, salmon and crackers.
> Sunday - Lightbread, syrup, salmon and crackers.
>
> Done by a committee, and ratified by the boarding-hall.
> J. L. Cain, President.
> C. C. Dogan, Recording Secretary.[119]

After the separation of the two schools in 1896, Dr. Dunton succeeded in establishing a Manual Training Department at Claflin worth over $30,000, toward which contributions were made by the Slater Fund. Dr. J. L. M. Curry, the General Agent for the Slater and Peabody Funds, was a great friend to the University until his death in 1904. On one occasion he said with regard to Claflin: "The industrial and academic work has been of such a character as to make the institution one of the best in the South for the education of the Negro."[120]

In 1897, the university property was evaluated at $80,000, and consisted of twelve buildings, and a farm of about one hundred acres. In that year thirty professors and teachers were employed, and 550 students were in attendance.[121] At the close of the century Claflin University had enrolled eight thousand students, and 322 of these had graduated from the college. Many of the graduates were filling honorable and lucrative positions as preachers, teachers, businessmen, farmers, lawyers, and physicians, and reflecting credit upon the institution. At the present time, the institution is operated under the auspices of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and known as Claflin College. The entire plant of the college is estimated to be worth over a half million dollars. Its organization consists of a Liberal Arts college, a Teacher Training college course leading to the Bachelor of Arts in Education, a two year Normal Teacher Training course, a Senior and Junior High School, and a Practice School offering elementary education. Its relation to the South Carolina State Agricultural and Mechanical College has been restored, and it cooperates with that institution in offering industrial education.

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[119] The Christian Educator (October, 1890), pp. 30-31.
[120] The Christian Educator (February-March, 1898), p. 71.
[121] Ibid., (June-July, 1898), p. 123.

Clark University.

Bishop D. W. Clark was largely instrumental in the founding of Clark University. In his episcopal tours he traversed the war-devastated South, organizing the Methodist Episcopal Church, and establishing schools for the Freedmen. He recognized Atlanta as the place for an institution of learning as early as 1867. In a letter to a friend in Boston in that year, Bishop Clark inquired if he knew any wealthy men in New England who would assist in the project, and stated: "The enterprise that dwells in my mind, almost by night and day, is the necessity of a Methodist Training School for teachers, and especially for young preachers. Atlanta, or in its immediate vicinity, is the place where it ought to be located."[122] As president of the Freedmen's Aid Society, Bishop Clark continued his efforts toward the establishment of the Atlanta school.

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[122] Western Christian Advocate, July 31, 1867.

In 1869, Dr. R. S. Rust, the Field Superintendent of the Society, reported that he had purchased "the commodious brick edifice, called the Ayer School, for $4,600." "It is an imperative necessity," he continued, "and the Society borrowed the money and purchased the property, believing that the friends of the freedmen will promptly respond to this appeal for help. The institution is designed for training teachers and preachers for the elevation and salvation of the people of the State."[123] The "university" was opened in this year as a primary and normal school. The Freedmen's Aid Society attempted to persuade the Freedmen's Bureau to appropriate a sum of money to the new school, but the officers of that agency refused, as it had made a large appropriation to Atlanta University, under the supervision of the American Missionary Association. The Methodists were not discouraged by the Bureau's refusal to aid the project. Determined to continue the school, the Freedmen's Aid Society stated in its third annual report that "our work here in Georgia demands a Normal School in Atlanta, that is might give tone and influence to all our movements in the State; for Atlanta is the gateway to the South, and influences the South."[124] At this time the Freedmen's Aid Society supported primary schools in nearly all the large towns of the state, and it was planned that the school in Atlanta should be the center of the system, other schools serving as "feeders." Prior to the purchase of the property by the Society a primary school had been conducted in the basement of Clark Chapel, a church edifice belonging to the Northern Methodists, for a period of time. This school, under the supervision of the Reverend J. W. Lee, was moved to the Ayer School property. The pressing ministerial duties compelled Mr. Lee to surrender the work to the Reverend D. W. Hammond, who selected as his assistants Miss Leila Fuller and Miss Mary Dickinson. From some reason the school again changed leaders, Miss Lou Henley becoming principal. Late in the year 1870, Mr. Uriah Cleary assumed the supervision of Clark University. In that year the institution enrolled one hundred and thirty students. In 1935, Mr. Cleary, then an elderly man, wrote of his experiences as an early educator of the Freedmen. Some extracts of the letter is as follows:

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[123] Ibid., August 4, 1869.
[124] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, pp. 8-9.

> I am 84 years old and almost blind but I am going to try to comply with your request as there are few things that give me more pleasure than to think and talk about Clark University. I am going to give as true a picture as I can of the work of early educators among the Freedmen, and shall endeavor to recall some events that occured 63 years ago.
>
> I was just finishing my course of training in the National Normal School, Lebanon, Ohio--Alfred Holbrook, President, when R. S. Rust, D. D., Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, preached a sermon in the Methodist Episcopal Church. It may be interesting to note that in 1830 Dr. Rust was refused admission to an Ohio Conference of the Methodist Church on account of his anti-slavery views. At the close of the service, Dr. Rust asked, 'Is there any young lady or gentleman here who would like to teach the colored people of the South?' I raised my hand. 'Meet me at the parsonage this afternoon.' I did so. Mr. Holbrook recommended

me and I was elected President of Clark University. I was just 21 years old; had taught twelve months in a common school and had been outside of Ohio only once.

There was some hitch in procuring my assistants and I was sent to the Central Tennessee College at Nashville to wait. This was a boon to me for had it not been for that insight into the work that I got during the two weeks I was there, I certainly would have failed. After having spent two weeks in Nashville, I reached Atlanta on a Tuesday morning. Atlanta was then a sprawling country town claiming 30,000 inhabitants. The houses in the part of town where I lived were not numbered. I was referred to two men, had their names but not their addresses. Afterwards, I learned they lived in Marietta, twenty miles away. I got my breakfast and started out to reconnoiter. In my rambles, I found Peachtree Street which was not much of a street then. Passing on, I saw a sign "Methodist Episcopal Book **Depository.**" I went in, introduced myself and showed my letters. A young man who chanced to be in the office volunteered to escort me to the school house. It was a two-story four-room brick building, stuck up on a red knoll which became very muddy and slippery in wet weather. I found it in a deplorable condition. A school had been conducted there for three or four years before but no one was responsible for it during the vacations. The Negroes of the vicinity appeared to have adopted it to their own uses for lodge meetings, dances, and frolics of all kinds. Only one room had desks, the others had benches, some with backs and many without backs. The desks had all been taken up and piled in the other rooms. I procured a gimlet and screwdriver and went to work. About two o'clock, a man came in and introduced himself as Rev. Lee. After talking a while, I asked him if any arrangements had been made for my boarding. He looked grave, and stroked his whiskers, well--said he, we think Sister Oldfield over there will board you but if not, you can't get boarding in this city. Now!!! wasn't that a jolt to a hungry boy who was eight hours from his breakfast table and 600 miles from his mother's dinner table. Sister Oldfield, however, took me in and I had a pleasant home. I got a force to work and had the building scrubbed from garret to cellar, had bills struck and circulated announcing the opening of school. In a few days, my assistants came. They were Mrs. Lee, wife of Rev. Lee, a graduate of Illinois Female College; and Miss Sallie Eichelberger, a graduate of the Female College of Xenia, Ohio. They were refined ladies and excellent teachers. Southern whites then called our lady teachers everywhere "Sherman Camp Followers." They feared and hated Negro education more than a scourge of small-pox. They called it Clark University but it was then, and for many years afterwards, a primary school of three departments. It would have been hard to catalogue that school. All ages from 4 to 60 and all degrees of advancement from A B C to grammar, geography, and high arithmetic. There was Mamie Doke, aged 4. She always reminded me of a new copper kettle. She was about that color and was always so clean, she looked like she had been scoured. She and her mother came to school hand-in-hand and took their places in the same class and learned their letters. There were those in the Primary Department aged from 6 to 30, studying the same lesson in spelling, and there were poor old-gray-headed men trying to gain a little knowledge to give them a start in a better school where they would learn throughout eternity.

Our highest enrollment was 190. Of these, between 80 and 90 were in the Primary class. I was asked, and am sometimes asked--even yet, 'can those fellows learn anything?'

I have taught in the schools of four states and have given years to the work and am free to say that my pupils at Clark would average with those of any school I have taught. "Yes," but some said, "your educated Negro is high-hatted, bumptious." "Oh, no," I replied,"a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. Your half taught person be ye white or black, may be bumptious--but one who has conquered the graves, gone through high school and college will have the same opinion as expressed by Sir Isaac Newton when he wrote --"I know not what others think of me but to myself I seem like a child playing on the sea-shore, now and then picking up a pebble or a shell more beautiful than those found by others, while the great ocean of truth lies unexpressed before me.

Bishop Clark died in '71, making the University his residuary legatee. The legacy amounted to several thousand dollars. I was glad though I knew they wanted a bigger man than I. Dr. Rust promised me a good place for the next year. Our work was very hard, es-

> pecially mine. Partly due to my youth and inexperience. I taught six hours a day, held a Bible study class one evening in the week, a teacher training class on another, superintendent of the Sunday School, and attended to all the business of the institution. When vacation came and the load was off, I simply collapsed--a six week's scourge of typhoid fever, a year to recuperate and I was out. So my connection with the Freedmen's Aid Society was ended.
>
> With a glad heart and proud, and wishing ten thousand years of success to Clark University, I am
>
> Yours truly,
> Signed: URIAH CLEARY [125]

President Cleary directed his attention to the training of teachers for the common schools, who were in great demand at that time.[126] The Methodist enterprise seemed to be prospering under the administration of Cleary, for in a letter to General Howard of the Freedmen's Bureau, J. W. Alvord reported that he had examined the schools for the Freedmen around Atlanta, and stated that "the Methodists are doing well."[127]

In 1872, the school, with its teachers and principal, Mrs. Mary and Miss Oldfield, and the Reverend I. Marcy, passed under control of the city of Atlanta, according to an agreement by which the latter received the use of the school building for its newly inaugurated public schools, and in return paid the salaries of the teachers, who were still to be selected by the Freedmen's Aid Society. This was considered and advantageous arrangement, as it left the Society free to use its funds for the establishment of a theological school, in compliance with the wishes of Bishop Clark, who had left, by will, an endowment fund of several thousand dollars. Accordingly the Clark Theological Seminary was opened in February, 1872, with the Reverend L. D. Barrows, D. D., as dean, in a new building purchased for the purpose.[128]

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[125] Extracts from a letter of Uriah Cleary, in possession of Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia.
[126] Report of the F. A. S., 1871, p. 9.
[127] Alvord, J. W., Condition of the Freedmen, 1870, p. 21.

In 1874, the Reverend I. J. Lansing, was elected president of the "university," and in the meantime the city of Atlanta had purchased the old school-building in which the school had been housed since 1869. The Freedmen's Aid Society no longer furnished teachers for the public schools, and plans were made by President Lansing to reorganize the university. Adding a new building to the one purchased for the Theological School was one of the first acts of the new administrator. He reorganized the curriculum, and made the theological school one of the departments of the university. Lansing gave a description of the curriculum of Clark University in 1875, in his report to the Freedmen's Aid Society of that year. He wrote:

> Classes have been instructed in common English, in elocution, physical geography, book-keeping, algebra, Latin, Greek, and Bible history. A series of discourses, adapted to the understanding of all the scholars, has been given on the 'young Men and Women of the Bible,' and the lessons of their lives, considered in historical order. For the especial benefit of those who intend to be teachers, a course of normal lectures has been delivered in the hearing of the entire school. During the Winter, also, a course of lectures and readings was arranged for the entertainment and instruction of the scholars and their friends.[129]

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[128] The development of Clark Theological Seminary will be discussed in the following chapter under the title of professional education.
[129] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, p. 28.

President Lansing allowed no social discrimination among the teachers and students during his administration. In his report to the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1875, he declared that "you will be interested to know that we 'perceive that God is no respecter of persons.' This truth of God we seek to learn and to teach by precept and example. We insist that the true difference between men, determining their position in the sight of God, is in character, not color; and we enforce this truth by treating our students as we would wish to be treated under like circumstances. We sit in the same dining-room and eat at the same table, conversing with them as we would with any persons of similar age and attainments. As to their future social position, we urge them to be worthy of any society and to intrude into none."[130]

During the one year of the presidency of J. V. Martin, M. A., in 1876, a charter for Clark University was secured from the State Legislature of Georgia granting full university powers. During this year Professor W. H. Crogman became a teacher in the college, beginning a career which achieved fame for himself, his race, and the Methodist Negro institutions in the South.

In the fall of 1877, the Reverend R. E. Bisbee, was chosen president. At that time the majority of the students were still pursuing the commong English branches of study, while only a few had progressed into the realm of languages, sciences, and higher mathematics.[131] The frequent changes of administration and faculty, the crowded quarters, the vicinity of well-equipped and well-endowed institutions, and other causes, had a depressing effect upon the growth of the young university. President Bisbee, in spite of these difficulties, infused new life into every department, raised the standard of scholarship, and was the first to send out some graduates from the normal and college preparatory departments.

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[130] Ibid., p. 29.
[131] Ibid., 1877, p. 21.

Bishop Gilbert Haven took up the work where Bishop Clark had left it. By his own personal effort, at the risk of his own private resources, and in spite of opposition, he purchased over four hundred acres of land, within two miles of the heart of the city, which, by 1877 had begun to rapidly spread to and around the property. Plans were made to erect several buildings on the new property, but Bishop Haven lived only long enough to see the foundations of Chrisman Hall completed. Dr. R. S. Rust assumed the responsibilities of the completion of the buildings, and endeavored to carry out the plans of Bishop Clark and Bishop Haven.

The corner-stone of Chrisman Hall was laid by Bishop Matthew Simpson and Dr. Rust in February, 1880. In an address upon this occasion, Bishop Simpson stated:

> This college today looks on the foundation of a building more beautiful, more commodious, larger and grander than the first buildings of any of the institutions connected with our Church with which I was acquainted in my youth, and though the beginning be small, what is the promise? Look at these broad acres, look at that large area; see the institution as it stands on this eminence and looks upon the beautiful city of Atlanta. All those acres, except the college campus, will one day be occupied by citizens who shall rejoice in its progress. . . . I have no doubt that

> there are young people in this assembly who will live to see the period when there shall be other edifices, large and beautiful and commodious, in the campus with this structure, and will live to see its alumni scattered all over the land.[132]

Bishop Simpson himself lived long enough to see that day when a large part of his prophecy was fulfilled.

On the 16th of October, in the same year, Chrisman Hall was dedicated. A large number of prominent Southern clergymen and citizens were present, among whom were Governor Colquitt and Senator Brown. Many Southerners expressed gratitude for the efforts of the Methodist Episcopal Church toward the education of the Negro in the Southern states, and the interchange of sentiments among such prominent men of both sections of the country, awakened new interest in Clark University and the cause of Negro education. Dr. Rust wrote to John Greenleaf Whittier, the New England poet, requesting a poem for use at the dedication of Chrisman Hall. Unable to comply with this request, Whittier sent the following letter, which was read at the dedication:

> Danvers, Mass. 9th month, 26, 1880.
>
> My dear Friend: I wish I could do what thee asks for; but I am compelled, by the state of my health, to forbear making any literary engagements. I have long suffered from overtask, and must not promise what it might be physically impossible for me to perform. For the cause's sake, for the good Bishop's sake, and for thy own (for I know thee as a devoted friend of the poor and oppressed), I would gladly answer otherwise.
>
> The moral and intellectual education of the Freed-

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[132] Quoted in Cummings, op. cit., pp. 414-415.

> men is the special and imperative necessity of our day. If Christian love and charity did not prompt it, duty to ourselves and our country would demand it. The very life of the nation depends upon it.
>
> With all my heart I bid the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church ''Godspeed' in its holy work.
>
> Thy friend, John G. Whittier.[133]

After a successful service of three years, Mr. Bisbee resigned, and the Reverend E. O. Thayer was elected president. During the latter's administration the Reverend Wilbur P. Thirkield came to the university as the dean of the school of theology. This was the beginning of a career which brought fame and honor to Thirkield, as president of Gammon Theological Seminary,[134] Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, president of Howard University, and Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the following years, Clark University continued to grow. Through Dr. Atticus G. Haygood, the industrial department of the university received much assistance from the Slater Fund, and was so successful that Haygood said: "Clark University is second only to Hampton in this line."[135] By 1890, the university had a faculty of twenty-three teachers, including these in the industrial department, and a student body of 340 pupils. They were classified in that year as follows: Collegiate, 11; College Preparatory, 56; English Course, 267; Normal Course, 11; Instrumental Music, 21; Industrial Schools, 204. The property of the university in that year was estimated to be worth $200,000.[136]

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[133] Ibid., p. 415.

[134] Treated in the following chapter under Theological Education.

[135] Cummings, op. cit., p. 416.

[136] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1889, pp. 31-32.

It will be seen from the classification of students that little progress had been made in the higher branches of education. Only eleven students in 1900 were enrolled in the college course which is an indication that few students remained in school long enough to be promoted to the college level of instruction. The Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, Dr. J. C. Hartzell, wrote to the president of Clark University in 1895, saying, "The fact is, that Clark University has never measured in its College classes in comparison with several other of our College schools. Where are its graduates today as compared with Rust, New Orleans, or Claflin? I can name a score from those schools who are in the front of our ministry and our educational work. Clark has some . . . but not the proportion it ought to have."[137]

In 1897, the Reverend Charles M. Melden, Ph. D., pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church in Brockton, Massachusetts, and a graduate of Boston University, was elected president of the university. At the close of the century, the property of the school was the largest of any of the schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South, its estimated value being $350,000. In 1900, the institution had an enrollment of 459 students, but the greater number of them were in the elementary branches of study. In answering the questions concerning the effectiveness of the Methodist educational work among the Negroes, Dr. M. C. B. Mason, Secretary of the Society from 1896-1912, cited the list of graduates of Clark University as an example of the worth of such an enterprise. He wrote in the year 1900:

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[137] Hartzell to Rev. D. C. John, August 7, 1895. Hartzell Papers.

> There are twenty-seven graduates from the full college course, three of whom have died. Of the remaining twenty-four, thirteen are in the ministry in good standing. Of this number, two are presiding elders, six are pastors, two are college presidents; viz., the Reverend James M. Cox, president of the Philander Smith College at Little Rock, Ark.; Rev. John D. Chavis, president of Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.; two are professors in the colleges, and the other one is taking a post-graduate course in the Boston University. Of the remaining eleven, eight are teachers in the graded and high schools, one is a real estate agent, another a postal clerk, and another a harness-maker. In the preparatory course, there have been twelve graduates, four of whom have died. Of the remaining eight, one is a physician, one is a minister, three are principals of high schools, two are clerks in the postal service, and one can not be accounted for. In the Academic Department there have been thirty-three graduates of whom five have died. Of the remaining twenty-eight, two are physicians, eleven are teachers in the graded and high schools, and one, Miss Clara Pullen, is principal of one of the city schools in Atlanta, Georgia, being one of the few women principals in the South, four have married ministers, two physicians, two are merchants, three are dressmakers, one trained nurse, two not accounted for. In the Normal Department there have been seventy-three graduates, three of whom have died, of the remaining seventy, forty-five are teachers, one a deaconess, one a corporal in the United States Army, one a clerk in the Methodist Book Concern at Chicago, three are in the railway mail service, two are ministers, seven have married ministers, two are dressmakers, three merchants, and five not accounted for. In the Industrial Department there have been forty-five graduates of whom five have died. Of the remaining forty, one is a superintendent of the Alabama State Normal School, two are instructors in the Tuskegee Normal Institute, three are in the railway mail service, two are mail carriers, three are proprietors of blacksmith-shops, eight are teachers in industrial institutions, one is in a deaf and dumb institution; all the others are engaged in some industrial work. In addition to this very creditable record, let

> it be noted that hundreds of students and undergraduates have gone out to teach, so that the work of the institution must not be measured simply by the number of graduates. What is true of Clark University is true of a large number of other institutions in the South.[138]

At the present time the organization of Clark University includes a high school department and a liberal arts college and is under joint control of the Board of Education and the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its present property is evaluated at over a half million dollars. More than sixteen thousand students have attended the university. Among the many graduates have been distinguished teachers, preachers, physicians, missionaries, merchants, artisans, and home-makers. Since its establishment it has had for its worthy purpose "to promote broad and accurate scholarship along with a high type of character." Under the present administration of Dr. M. S. Davage, widely recognized as an able administrator and educator, the school has grown in the quality of its service.

LaGrange Seminary.

This school at LaGrange, Georgia, was established by Dr. R. S. Rust of the Freedmen's Aid Society sometime in 1869 or 1870, in a rough, unplastered church, entirely destitute of school conveniences. It was continued as an elementary school for many years, finally reaching the "academy" status in the 1890's. When Bishop Gilbert Haven was assigned to episcopal duties in the South the school was still being conducted in the church building. Haven visited the school sometime in the early 1870's and instituted a financial campaign to raise money for a building in which to house the institution. The Reverend J. H. Owens was appointed by the bishop to take charge of the church and seminary a short time afterward. Mr. Owens became personally responsible for one thousand dollars for the building fund, and through persistent efforts secured a few hundred dollars from the Northern people. To assist in the new enterprise toward the education of the Freedmen, the Southern people in the community pledged eight hundred dollars in behalf of the seminary. But the most notable contribution was made by the Negroes of the community, who, struggling with the disabilities of poverty, subscribed nineteen hundred dollars in money, work, and land. According to the report of the Society for the year 1879, a considerable portion of the Negroes' contribution came from women who were only earning four dollars a month at the wash-tub. There was some doubt as to the ability of the Negroes to pay their subscription, but the whole amount was "paid to the last nickel," demonstrating an intelligent interest in the efforts to help their race.[139]

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[138] The Christian Educator (June-July, 1900), pp. 133-134.

In time this building was constructed, providing seating space for two hundred and twenty pupils. The total cost of the new building was estimated at four thousand dollars, and entirely constructed by Freedmen labor. During the next year three hundred pupils were enrolled. From the establishment of the Seminary in 1869 to the year

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[139] Report of the F. A. S., 1879, pp. 46-47.

1879, the institution had sent out over seventy teachers legally commissioned by the state authorities, and nine preachers had been trained sufficiently to be sent out to the Methodist churches in that vicinity.[140]

In 1891, the LaGrange Academy had made some effort to offer courses to students preparing them for college. The Principal of the Academy, the Reverend Henry M. White was listed in that year as the teacher of Latin, Greek, and Higher Mathematics. But the student body was almost entirely made up of elementary pupils. The classification of students in that year shows only two students in the college preparatory class. One student was enrolled in the Normal Course. Out of a total enrollment of 170 students, 167 were in the elementary school, and seventy-four of these students were enrolled in the first grade.[141] This state of affairs did not prevent the Academy from supplying teachers and preachers to the schools and churches of Georgia, for many of the students left the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society before their education had been completed and yet were gainfully employed.

By 1900, the property of the LaGrange Academy had been improved and its value was estimated at $8,000. There had been a considerable decrease in the enrollment of students, for only fifty were in attendance in 1900.[142] Nevertheless, in the succeeding years the institution regained its previous enrollment, and by 1910 was averaging each year over two hundred students. When the Freedmen's Aid Society began a consolidation of the schools in the South between 1915 and 1920, the LaGrange Academy was discontinued, and its resources joined to those of Clark University at Atlanta.

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[140] Ibid., p. 47.
[141] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1891, pp
[142] Ibid., 1901, p. 131.

Cookman Institute.

Cookman Institute was established as a night school in 1872 for the education of the Freedmen at Jacksonville, Florida. It was the first institution for the higher education of Negroes founded in the state of Florida, and, for a long time was the only such school of its kind in that section of the country. The Freedmen's Aid Society contributed one hundred and fifty dollars toward its support in the first year, and this sum was increased by the Florida Winter Home Association. The latter organization purchased four thousand acres of land in Jacksonville, in 1872, and pledged ten per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of lots for the establishment of a permanent institution to be named after the Reverend Alfred Cookman, who took a deep interest in the elevation of the Freedmen. The credit for the success of Cookman Institute in the early years is due to the efforts of the Reverends W. B. Osborn and Samuel B. Darnell.[143] The latter served as Principal of the school from 1872 until 1894, and contributed more than any other to its continued growth. Among the names of the first Board of Trustees of Cookman Institute are found the following: Bishop Matthew Simpson, Governor O. B. Hart, Reverend Daniel Curry, Reverend W. B. Osborn, Reverend S. B. Darnell, and

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[143] Report of the F. A. S., 1873, p. 34.

Reverend R. S. Rust.

In 1875, the Institute had an enrollment of fifty students, and applications for more than it could accommodate. The Freedmen's Aid Society had purchased a site for a building in which to house the school, and planned to erect a structure costing ten thousand dollars. But the treasury of the Society was overdrawn that year and the project was postponed. In addition to the poverty of the Southern Negroes, the failure of the Freedmen's Bank had made contributions from that source dwindle to a considerable extent. The report of the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1875 reported that the schools for the Negroes in Florida were "feeble and few"; Northern teachers could not be sustained; the colored people were unqualified to serve as teachers; yet calls were coming in to the Institute for students who had been under instruction for only a year. Attempting to meet the demand for Negro teachers and preachers, the Society called for aid from the Northern people.

The report of the Freedmen's Aid Society for 1877 furnishes a description of the school in that year. The contemplated building had been erected, providing accommodations for fifty boarding students, and over one hundred students. The attendance in that year reached one hundred pupils during the entire year. Many of the students were reported to be teaching and preaching and attending school at the same time "hoping to keep up with their classes, and return before the year's work is over and pass their examinations."[144] The Institute boarded the students on the club plan, and managed to provide food for each student at the unbelievable sum of one dollar and twenty-five cents per week. None of the students were admitted to the school under fourteen years of age, and they were required to be able to "read with facility." Most of the students in 1877 were in the common English branches of study, but some had progressed to such classes as natural philosophy, physiology, algebra, and Latin. A Biblical class was under the supervision of Principal Darnell, who taught the young Negro preachers the rudiments of Christian theology; lectures on the duties of pastor and people, and the methods of preparing sermons.[145]

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[144] Report of the F. A. S., 1877, p. 34.

The night school established in the early years after the war for the Freedmen at Jacksonville had shown remarkable growth by 1890. When the school was established it met in a plain frame building in the old Sand Fort, but in the beginning of the last decade of the century, Cookman Institute had grown to a sizeable school of five buildings and a total property evaluated at $30,000. The faculty had been increased to nine teachers offering courses from the primary grade to classical Greek. In that year the school reached a student enrollment of 431 students classified as follows: College Preparatory, 39; English Course, 392; Music, 12; Carpentry, 32; Biblical Course, 15.[146]

Darnell, who had served the school faithfully for twenty-five years was forced to resign in 1894 due to ill-health, and thus closed a career of helpful endeavor among the Negroes of the South. Having personally invested in the property of the school, the Freedmen's Aid Society bought his interest for $4,000. He made a donation to the Society of $1,350 of other personal property.[147]

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[145] Ibid., p. 36.

[146] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1891, p. 217.

Knowing that Mr. Darnell contemplated a resignation of his position at the school, the colored members of the Methodist Episcopal Church brought pressure to bear upon Dr. Hartzell to appoint a colored man to fill the vacancy. Up until this time the Freedmen's Aid Society had not been inclined to place colored men to the chief positions in the educational institutions,[148] and it was not until some years later that the Negro institutions were headed by members of their own race.

The financial condition of the country at large, and especially the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society in the latter 1890's presented an opportunity for a policy of retrenchment at Cookman Academy. For several years the school was without a president. It was in charge of Miss Lillie Whitney for the years 1894-1895, and during the year 1895-1896 there was a joint principalship of Miss Whitney and Miss Carrie Fairchild. During this administration the student enrollment dropped to 136 students. The school suffered during this period from the lack of administration, and caused the Freedmen's Aid Secretary, Dr. J. W. Hamilton, "more trouble . . . than any one of all our schools in the South."[149] In 1897, the Reverend S. W. Kemerer, a graduate of Hamline University and a member of the Minnesota Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was elected president of the institution. The school received a severe blow in 1901, when the entire plant was burned in the great Jacksonville Fire. Other property was purchased and secured by the Freedmen's Aid Society and in 1903 the educational work in Jacksonville began anew. In 1923, Cookman Academy was merged with the Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute, a Negro girl's school, to form the now co-educational junior college called the Bethune-Cookman College. The girl's school grew out of an institution established by Mary McLeod Bethune in 1904. She is the present head of the Bethune-Cookman College, and one of the most noted educators of her race. The school is one of the related colleges of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and consists of six major and nine smaller buildings, evaluated at $600,000.

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[147] Hartzell to Miss L. Whitney, April 29, 1895. Hartzell Papers.
[148] Hartzell to S. B. Darnell, July 6, 1893. Hartzell Papers.
[149] Hamilton to R. R. Robinson, December 28, 1897. Hamilton Papers.

Up to the time of the merger of the two schools, in 1923, Cookman Academy had sent out 166 graduates, and touched and inspired thousands of others. Among the former students of the school will be found successful home-makers, farmers, teachers, business men, ministers, physicians, lawyers, one Bishop, one judge, and one United States Minister to Haiti, the Honorable L. W. Livingston.

Bennett Seminary.

This institution, located at Greensboro, North Carolina, was organized under the auspices of the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1873. Having no building for the school, the classes were held in the basement of the St. Mathews Methodist Episcopal Church for a period of years.

The Reverend E. O. Thayer was appointed principal of the school in the early years of its establishment. In his report to the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1875, he announced that during the Winter and Spring terms the average attendance of students was seventy-five, and ranging in age from fourteen to thirty years. He also stated that a site for the Seminary building, including twenty acres, had been purchased by the Society, at the cost of twenty-two hundred dollars. Hard times had prevented the construction of the building, but Thayer reported that the colored people of North Carolina were deeply interested in the Seminary and were aiding in raising funds for further development. In recounting the sacrifices that were being made by the colored people, Thayer said:

> A collection taken by the colored people of the Methodist Church at Greensboro amounted to one hundred and five dollars. This amount was made up of small contributions, the Sabbath-school children bringing their pennies, which, at the suggestion of their parents and pastor, they have been saving for this purpose. One little fellow, who had received a Sabbath-school prize of a dollar, brought it and placed it on the altar. This will convey to the reader an idea of the interest the people feel in the enterprise.[150]

The whites of Greensboro were not opposed to the establishment of a Negro school in that city, but Thayer remarked "little or no aid can be expected from the white people of the place." He expected to receive most of the contributions from the Northern people and Negroes of North Carolina.

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[150] Report of the *F. A. S.*, 1875, pp. 36-37.

In 1877, the Bennett Seminary had outgrown its limited accommodations in the basement of the church, but fortunately, a Northern benefactor had been found to meet the needs of the institution in the person of Mr. Lyman Bennett, of Troy, New York. Seeking to aid in the enterprise at Greensboro, Mr. Bennett purchased a tract of thirty acres of land; made an additional donation of ten thousand dollars for the erection of a building. The building was reported to be in the process of construction in 1877, and plans were being made for its dedication in the Spring of 1878. By this time the white citizens of Greensboro had taken an interest in the Seminary, and also the Negroes, who under the leadership of a venerable old colored minister Reverend M. Alston, had contributed liberally towards its advancement. A great deal of the success up to 1877 was due to the efforts of the Principal, Mr. Thayer, who had shown ability and discretion in the management of the school.[151] Other gifts from Northern people helped to aid the institution on its way. An organ was presented by a Northern firm in 1877, and in addition to his original gift, Mr. Bennett presented the school with a "fine Troy bell." Other friends in New England remembered the Negro school with a gift of several hundred books which furnished a nucleus for the library. These gifts encouraged the teachers of Bennett Seminary, and made them feel that their Northern friends were supporting them in their efforts to educate the Freedmen of that locality. Mr. Thayer encouraged Northern people to send such gifts as they did not need, for, said he, "many a volume is now gathering dust on the upper shelves, and many a suit of clothes is carelessly thrown aside in Northern homes which would accomplish much good among the Freedmen."[152]

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[151] Report of the F. A. S., 1877, p. 37.

Bennett Seminary was established in the weakest of the Southern Negro Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, although there was a large Negro population in North Carolina. The other branches of colored Methodism secured a strong foot-hold in North Carolina before the Methodist Episcopal Church entered that section of the country, and according to the reports of President Thayer in 1879, these Churches did not altogether receive the Northern Methodists with "Christian courtesy."[153] In addition to this competition between the Methodist bodies, four other large well-endowed schools in North Carolina were offering great inducements to the Negroes in free board and tuition. Despite these handicaps to the new Methodist school, the number of students increased rapidly and the standard of scholarship improved. In 1879, Bennett Seminary offered full Normal, College, Preparatory and Theological courses.[154]

President Thayer made an interesting prophecy concerning the students of Bennett Seminary in this year which was fulfilled many years later. In pointing out the promising material among the students of that time, Thayer said: "Among the young people there is fine material for future statesmen, professional men of all kinds, and even bishops."[155] That his estimation of the quality of his students was correct is borne out by the fact that both of the Negro Bishops elected at the 1920 General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop Matthew W. Clair and Bishop Robert E. Jones, are listed as alumni of Bennett Seminary.[156]

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[152] Ibid., 1879, p. 37.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Report of the F. A. S., 1879, pp. 37-38.

The Reverend Wilbur Fletcher Steele, A. M., ~~was~~ appointed principal of the school at Greensboro in 1880 and served in this capacity with success until 1889. When he assumed supervision of Bennett, conditions were alarming to him, for it was perhaps his first knowledge of the poverty of the students. His first report to the Freedmen's Aid Society is filled with accounts of the dire conditions among the Negroes of the Seminary. He said in 1881:

> While everything about the education of the colored race is not rosy, nor every Negro an ebony saint, yet there is vastly more available material than can be well cared for with our present facilities. For instance, a most energetic student making fair progress in five studies, is a mother with five children and six step-children, whose husband's wages are five dollars a week, and who apologized to the preceptress for a poor lesson as on the day before she washed eighty sheets from a hotel, besides her other duties. Again, a young minister, now here with his wife, walked 150 miles from the mountains to reach the school of his Church, and now sustains himself by walking, amid the pain of a superinduced disease, from 25 to 35 miles weekly to and from the appointments of his circuit, often receiving as the fruit of a 'big collection' sung out of the people's pockets, not over seventy-five cents.[157]

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155 Ibid., p. 37.
156 Stowell, J. S., Methodist Adventures in Negro Education, p. 156.
157 Report of the F. A. S., 1881. pp. 20-21.

Although conditions at the Seminary were not as President Steele wished he could command them to be, the education of the Negroes in that city was not without its compensation. He recounted an incident which gave him satisfaction in his efforts to contribute something to the elevation of that race. In 1870, he declared, hardly three out of five persons in North Carolina over ten years of age could read, while every alternate person, white or black, male or female could not so much as write their name. One of his students was called upon to assist the illiterate whites of Greensboro in reading a communication, which he describes in the following words:

> The citizens on the section of the public road passing the seminary were the other day ordered out to work on it. A dozen young white men in their prime, if gaunt tobacco eaters ever have any prime, mostly men with families and little cabined farms, responded to the summons with our students and other colored men. A note addressed to the white overseer was as much beyond him and ilk as the mene, mene to Belshazzar and his Chaldeans. A sight for the historian of great social movements, was one of our boys called out to read it to them. Doubtless in national elections he voted one way and they solidly oppositely.[158]

In 1888, Bennett Seminary enrolled one hundred and twenty-five students, the great majority of whom were in the elementary grades. Of the total number of students eighty six were in the English branches of study, which constituted the fourth, fifth, and six grades. In that year the institution graduated thirteen students from the Normal Course which was the highest academic department. No strictly college or college preparatory courses were offered. The physical plant had grown in the years following its establishment until it was estimated to be worth $25,000 in 1888.[159]

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[158] Ibid., p. 22.

Professor C. N. Grandison, of the Gammon Theological Seminary at Atlanta, succeeded President Steele in 1889, and during his administration the standards of scholarship were raised to a considerable extent. In 1891 the report from the institution reveals that six students were enrolled in collegiate courses and thirty-three in the college preparatory courses. In addition to the classical course, courses were offered in Theology, Music, Nurse-training, Printing, House-keeping, Sewing, Cooking, Dress-making, and Book-keeping. The enrollment in 1891 reached a total of two hundred and twenty-two students.[160]

In 1896, the Reverend J. D. Chavis was elected president of Bennett Seminary and continued in this office until 1904. During his administration a dormitory for men was erected. The financial condition of the times made it difficult to raise enough money for its completion. The Freedmen's Aid Society was unable to offer much assistance at this time because of the heavy indebtedness which it had incurred. In writing to the Secretary of the Society, Dr. Hamilton, the president of the school stated: "The building is simply at a standstill. I have done all I can do now, so I see nothing but to wait until I am able to do more. The work has gone on thus far by great sacrifice. More than half my year's salary is tied up in those walls. We have spent nearly $2,000, and have received but about $300 outside of ourselves. This is what you have sent us; but having done all I can, I just ask the Lord to give me patience to wait until I see another chance."[161] This letter is but one of the many instances revealing the great determination of many of the Methodist educators to carry forward their objectives under great difficulties.

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[159] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1888, p. 36.
[160] *The Christian Educator* (July, 1891), p. 206.

At the close of the century, this institution, known at this time as Bennett College and rated by the Society as a chartered institution, had an enrollment of 253 students and employed eleven teachers. The property of the school had increased in value and was listed as worth $60,000.[162]

The history of the school since 1900 has been one of rapid expansion and growth. The administration of President Frank Trigg, beginning in 1909, was marked by extensive building during which three modern buildings were added to the physical plant. President Trigg was born a slave in the Governor's mansion in Richmond, Virginia, and after the war was educated at Hampton Institute. He served the institution for many years up until the time of revolutionary changes in the college organization in 1926. Prior to this date, the greatly improved facilities for public education throughout the South led the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church to make an extended study of the scope and effectiveness of the schools for Negroes under its direction. This study revealed an urgent demand for the development of a college for women, in which the program of studies could be so differentiated as to give special emphasis to the requirements of women in preparation for life and service in the home, the church, and the community.

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[161] Ibid., (February-March, 1896), p. 38.

[162] The Christian Educator (October-November, 1901), p. 131.

In response to this demand, the Board of Education, in co-operation with the Woman's Home Missionary Soicety of the Methodist Episcopal Church, determined to establish a Woman's College. Through this action Bennett College ceased to be co-educational and in 1926 was converted into a college for girls. The name was then changed from Bennett College to Bennett College for Women. A new president was elected, Dr. David D. Jones, a graduate of Wesleyan and Columbia Universities. At the present time, the institution is one of the two four-year colleges in America devoted exclusively to the higher education of Negro women. Under President Jones' administration, the college has received gifts totaling over a half million dollars. One grant of $250,000 was received from the General Education Board in recognition of the valuable work of the institution. The present enrollment of Bennett College for Women is well over three hundred students. Prominent among the earlier alumni are Bishop Robert E. Jones and Bishop M. W. Clair, Dr. Robert N. Brooks, and a large number of prominent ministers, merchants, teachers, dentists, college professors, and farmers. Since 1926, 1,521 young women have attended the institution and 108 have been graduated with degrees.

New Orleans University.

Immediately after the first Methodist missionaries arrived in Louisiana in 1864 and 1865, steps were taken to provide for the education of the Freedmen. The early beginnings of educational work in

New Orleans is recorded in the hand-written copy of the Minutes of the Mississippi Annual and the Louisiana Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The minutes begin with the establishment of the Mississippi Mission Conference in December, 1865, and continue until 1876. Among the authors of this hand-written copy of the minutes, are the Reverends J. P. Newman and J. C. Hartzell, mentioned earlier in this study. The minutes of these early annual conferences reveal that plans were made to establish educational institutions of elementary and higher grade among the Negroes of Mississippi and Louisiana.[163]

At the first meeting of the Mississippi Mission Conference in 1865, presided over by Bishop Thomson, the conference took action toward the establishment of an institution in New Orleans. On the second day of this session, December 26, 1865, the Committee on Education reported in favor of founding the school for the education of colored men for the ministry, to be known as the Thomson Biblical Institute, and it was so ordered. The Conference also adopted a resolution calling upon the "Centenary Committee" for $50,000 with which to endow the institution.[163a] The Conference appointed a Board of Trustees and a faculty for the Institute. The latter was composed of Reverend J. P. Newman, Pastoral Theology; Reverend H. G. Jackson, Language and Systematic Theology; Reverend R. K. Diossy, Belles Lettres and Church History; Reverend N. L. Brakeman, Exegesis and Church Polity.[164] The institution was opened in 1866, and the Missionary Society of the

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163 Seventy Years of Service, a history of New Orleans University published by the faculty of the institution in 1935. (Hereafter cited as Seventy Years of Service).
163a Western Christian Advocate, January 10, 1866.
164 Letter of L. C. Matlack in The Christian Advocate, March 28, 1872.

Methodist Episcopal Church appropriated $5,000 for initiating the project. During the year 1866 one thousand dollars of this sum was paid for the teacher's salary, and $1,436.05 was distributed among twelve students and to meet sundry expenses. The President of the Institute, the Reverend J. P. Newman, reported a balance on hand of $597.30 at the Conference held in December 1867, after two years operation. The school was not opened the following year because of the lack of adequate funds.[165] Certain restrictions were made for the **admission of students** to the Thomson Biblical Institute, the chief one as stated in the constitution provided that "such persons only shall be received as students in this Institute as have already acquired the rudiments of an English education, are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, give satisfactory evidence of their determination to devote themselves to the work of the ministry and are recommended by a quarterly conference."[165a]

When the Union Normal School was opened in the city of New Orleans by the Methodists in 1869, the Federal forces were still in control of the city. During this year the Coliseum property was purchased, upon which stood a two-story frame building. As the Methodists were in need of funds for the promotion of their educational program, the Freedmen's Bureau came to their aid and donated $12,000 toward the project. This money was obtained through Reverend J. P. Newman's influence with General Hatch of the Bureau. In 1869, the report of the Freedmen's Aid Society announced that the building for the Normal School had been furnished, and "high class teachers have entered upon their mission." The purpose of the friends of the project was "to make it a first-class Normal School so that in it model teachers may be educated for the common schools of the State."[166] The attendance in the first year of operation was seventy-two students. Miss Rosetta A. Coit was in charge of the school from its establishment in 1869 until 1873, when the school was discontinued. Miss Coit was assisted by two teachers, and the salary of all was paid by the Freedmen's Aid Society.[167]

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[165] Ibid., March 28, 1872.

[165a] Minutes of the Mississippi Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the years, 1865 and 1866, p. 3.

In the meantime a third school was established by the Methodists in the city of New Orleans in 1869, under the title of the "Thomson University." It was soon thereafter moved to Franklin, Louisiana, where Mr. John Baldwin had donated thirty acres of land and erected buildings at the total cost of $30,000. Baldwin was described by the report of the Freedmen's Aid Society as one who cherished a deep interest in the elevation of the people of Louisiana, and was considering the endowment of this institution "where all the people, irrespective of color or condition, may enjoy the advantages of a thorough education."[168]

The Thomson Biblical Institute was transferred to the Thomson University when the funds of the Missionary Society had been expended, and in 1871 a class of students was reported to be "enjoying the valuable instructions of Rev. Dr. Wright," assisted by the president of the university, the Reverend S. L. Beiler.[169] The plans to erect a building for the Thomson University from the money contributed by John Baldwin were slow in materializing and because of the lack of accommodations for students, the school was removed to the Orphan's Home at Bayou Teche. Despite the unsettled conditions surrounding the new university, some success was realized in the preparation of teachers and preachers. In 1872, ten of the sixteen pupils in the Normal Class were expecting to become teachers or preachers, all of whom, in the estimation of the instructor, were qualified to teach the common English branches.[170]

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[166] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, p. 10.
[167] Seventy Years of Service, p. 10.
[168] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, p. 10.

During the session of the Louisiana Conference in December 1871, a movement was inaugurated to reestablish the old Thomson Institute at New Orleans. The Conference voted to re-organize the Institute and directed that it be reopened in the Union Normal School building, and elected the Reverends W. M. Daily, L. C. Matlack, J. C. Hartzell, and M. C. Cole as Trustees.[171] The Reverend J. C. Hartzell was made president of the Biblical Institute, thus beginning a life-time career in behalf of the Negro which led him to the office of Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society and Missionary Bishop to Africa.[172] Hartzell was also on the faculty of the Institute for several years after the merger of the schools in Louisiana.[173]

When Bishop Wiley and Dr. R. S. Rust visited New Orleans in December 1872, the educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church was scattered and poorly organized. After a consultation with the Methodist leaders in Louisiana, it was decided to unify all educational work in the state "under the style and name of New Orleans University."[174] In the same year the Reverend Isaac S. Leavitt was transferred from the West Wisconsin Conference to the Louisiana Conference and made President of the Union Normal School.

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[169] Report of the F. A. S., 1871, p. 11.
[170] Ibid., 1872, p. 22.
[171] Letter of L. C. Matlack to The Christian Advocate, March 28, 1872.
[172] Western Christian Advocate, January 3, 1872.
[173] The Christian Advocate, February 20, 1873.

According to the proposed plan for the unification of all Methodist education in Louisiana, Hartzell and Leavitt prepared a charter for the New Orleans University and with the help of Pierre Landry, a Principal of one of the common schools of the state, submitted it to the State Legislature for its approval. The charter prepared by Hartzell and Leavitt provided for the maintenance of an institution of learning with such departments as might from time to time be organised, in or near New Orleans. Graduates of the Law Department were to be admitted to legal practice in the state, and the professors, and students of the Medical Department were to have access to the Charity Hospital of the city for the purposes of practice and illustration.

The early account of Mr. Leavitt's activities in New Orleans and the description of the times during which the charter was secured for the University has been preserved in a letter written in 1930 by Leavitt to Dr. O. E. Kriege, the last president of New Orleans University. The letter is quoted for the purpose of depicting the unsettled conditions of the reconstruction period in Louisiana, the conditions in the early Methodist institutions, the difficulties under which the Methodist educators worked at that time, and the occasion of securing the charter for the university from the reconstruction government of the state. The letter of the first president of the University follows:

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[174] Letter of J. C. Hartzell to "Wilson," January 31, 1873. Hartzell MS.

> ## My First Year in New Orleans.
>
> Previous to my coming Dr. Newman had secured funds from the Government and purchased a large residence at the corner of Camp and Race Streets. The property was then turned over to the Freedmen's Aid Society of our Church, which opened a school there known as Union Normal School. I began teaching in this school October 22nd, 1872 with twenty-three scholars present, all in primary grades. Gradually these numbers increased and more teachers were secured. Before the close of the year our accommodations were greatly overtaxed.
>
> An adjoining building was purchased on Race Street. Connection were made which brought relief. Dr. Newman, Bishop Janes and a few other Northern friends contributed $100 each with additional subscriptions which I also secured locally. Eighteen hundred dollars was raised. The balance was furnished by our Freedmen's Aid Society and they took over title to the property.
>
> During the winter of 1872-73, the following leading representatives of our Church visited New Orleans: Dr. J. P. Newman, then chaplain of the U. S. Senate; Dr. Rust, Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society; Dr. Freeman, Secretary of our Sunday school work; Dr. E. O. Haven, Corresponding Secretary of our Educational Society; Dr. Cobleigh, editor of the Atlanta Methodist Advocate; Bishops Gilbert Haven, Wiley, and Janes, the latter held the fifth session of the Louisiana Conference in New Orleans.
>
> These men expressed their special interest and satisfaction in the work of our school and advised putting our entire educational work in the state under a university charter. Bishop Haven advised calling it The New Orleans University, which met with general favor.
>
> I then secured the charters of three of our leading Universities in the North which suggested to me the provisions which should go into our new charter. When prepared it received the endorsement of men who were to constitute the first Board of Trustees and of others specially interested.

On January 13, 1873, it was heartily endorsed by the Louisiana Annual Conference. Just the month before--December 7th the Legislature met. Owing to rival Returning Boards two sets of State officers were reported as elected, the one Democratic composed of white people with a Mr. McEnery as Governor, the other Republican composed principally of colored people with William P. Kellogg as Governor.

In view of a decision of the U. S. Judge, United States troops took possession of the Legislative Halls the night before the meeting and cannon were placed in front of the building.

At noon the Republican legislature was established and became the de facto government of the state.

The McEnery faction rented a hall, organized and passed radical war measures. Owning to the numerous U. S. soldiers stationed at various places in the city, the streets did not flow with blood as expected. March 5th, a riot occurred in which several men were reported killed. A strong guard of U. S. 'blue coats' protected the Republican Legislature but war clouds overshadowed the city until after the adjournment. I was present at an evening session when the Legislature suddenly adjourned, every man picked up a gun and sped for the scene of action.

Such were political conditions when on April 15th our charter in my own hand-writing was introduced into the Republican Senate by James H. Ingraham, a member of that body. It was referred to the proper Committee and on their favorable report was adopted.

Then Pierre Landry, a member of the House introduced it to that body. It was again referred to a Committee to whom I explained its provisions as I had before the Senate. When it came up for action in the House, noisy objections arose and I noticed that no defense was made. But Mr. Landry came to me and said, 'We passed the charter last night in the 'Ring,' when the vote is taken it will pass,' and it did, and that without the use of funds which were usually required.

The charter was then signed by the Governor and on April 15th, the Board of Trustees was organized and I was elected as the first president of New Orleans University.

(signed)
I. S. Leavitt, D. D.[175]

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[175] A letter in possession of Dr. O. E. Kriege, New Orleans, La.

One section of the charter secured for New Orleans University provided for the establishment of such preparatory schools, seminaries or colleges, as the Board of Trustees desired, in the several parishes of the state.[176] In agreement with this section of the charter, a number of preparatory schools located in various parts of the state were operated by and affiliated with New Orleans University. Among these preparatory schools were the following: "Gilbert Normal and Agricultural College," Baldwin, La.; "People's Normal and Industrial School," Lake Charles, La.; "Live Oak School," Baton Rouge, La.; "Mansfield Academy," Donaldsonville, La.; "LaHarpe Street Academy," New Orleans; "Corporation Graded School," Thibodaux. All of these schools were eventually discontinued with the exception of Gilbert Normal and Agricultural College at Baldwin.[177]

The first commencement exercises of New Orleans University were held in the second week of June, 1873. According to the reports from the institution, the attendance in that year had been over two hundred scholars. None were "admitted lower than the Fourth Reader," but the majority of the students were in the elementary branches of study. A night school was in operation at the university in 1873, for the benefit of those students who could not attend during the day. The night sessions were held from seven to nine o'clock, and were conducted by the same teachers as the day school.[178]

During the years 1875-1877, the Reverend W. D. Godman was president of New Orleans University. He attended Ohio Wesleyan University and was the first and only graduate in the year 1847.[179] After a professorship in Northwestern University and further study, he became president of Baldwin University, at Berea, Ohio. Taking his wife to Louisiana for her health, both she and Dr. Godman became so interested in the problems of the Freedmen that he entered the educational field in their behalf.

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[176] Seventy Years of Service, p. 13.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Report of the F. A. S., 1873, pp. 22-23.

In his report to the Society in 1875, Dr. Godman stated that crowded conditions existed among the students. The University had one hundred and ten students that year, but the president claimed that more room had to be provided. Many of the Negro youth in New Orleans at that time had no means of education, and others were reported to have no interest in education at all. The President advocated scholarship aid to students, stating that they "might become interested through right instrumentalities."[180] Sharp competition among the denominational schools for Negroes in that section of the country resulted in some of these institutions offering liberal aid to theological students, and because of the lack of funds New Orleans University was able to report an enrollment of only eight in the theological class. Dr. Godman was a firm believer in giving adequate attention to religious culture among the students. A daily prayer-meeting, of fifteen minutes length, besides the regular daily chapel worship was held at the school, and on Friday evenings a meeting was held "in a recitation-room for the promotion of holiness." In addition to these meetings, a Sunday-school was held on every Sabbath at the university, which in 1875 numbered 115 scholars.[181]

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[179] Seventy Years of Service, p. 26.
[180] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, p. 33.

During the years 1877-1901, New Orleans University had seven presidents, namely, Reverend J. S. Bean, 1877-79; Reverend W. D. Godman, 1879-80; Reverend Isaac M. Failor, 1880-82; Reverend J. A. Dean, 1882-84; Professor A. F. Hoyt, 1884-86; Dr. Isaac Lowe, 1886-87; and Reverend L. G. Adkinson, 1887-1901.

In 1879, teachers at the University were carrying a heavy teaching load. President Failor reported in that year that the school had but three teachers, and further declared, "now when it is remembered that we have here every class, save one, from primary to senior, also a theological department, some idea may be formed of the amount of work we have to do. Yet we are doing the best we can, at a great sacrifice, however, of both mental and physical vigor."[182] The catalogue of the University for that year shows an attendance of eleven in the college classes, eighty-four in the preparatory department, sixty-eight in the primary department, and nine in the theological department, a total of 369 students.[183]

During the administration of President Almon F. Hoyt in 1884-1886, the attendance of the New Orleans University was close to two hundred students. During these two years, Dr. J. C. Hartzell of the Freedmen's Aid Society secured a plantation tract on St. Charles

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[181] Ibid., p. 34.
[182] Report of the F. A. S., 1879, p. 27.
[183] Seventy Years of Service, p. 27.

Avenue which became the permanent home of the school until 1935. The acquisition of the new property relieved the crowded conditions among the students to some degree. President Hoyt appointed two young Negro men to positions in the college during his administration, Alexander P. Camphor, as assistant Librarian in the college and Madison C. B. Mason as Librarian for the School of Theology, which started these young men upon careers of usefulness in the Church. The former became a bishop in the Church, and the latter was appointed by the General Conference of 1896 as one of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Freedmen's Aid Society, the first Negro to hold such a position.[184]

During the administration of Dr. Louis G. Adkinson, the University reached its peak of development from the time of its establishment to the close of the century. During this administration from 1887-1901, the school progressed along several lines. Although correspondence of Dr. Adkinson with Dr. Hartzell shows that the former was often discouraged,[185] he efficiently managed the school. He was the first to employ capable Negro graduates as instructors and assistants, among them Alexander P. Camphor, already mentioned, and Matthew S. Davage, now President of Clark University. During the years 1897-1899, a yellow fever epidemic caused the city to be quarantined and seriously effected the attendance of students. Many of the Northern teachers were afraid to go into the South during this epidemic, but President Adkinson employed the members of his own family to fill the vacancies.[186]

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[184] Ibid., p. 28.
[185] Adkinson wrote to Dr. Hartzell in 1893 and said: "I know of nothing in the situation encouraging." Hartzell Papers.
[186] Mason to Adkinson, November 28, 1898. Mason Papers.

At the close of the century the institution had a teaching force of seventeen on the faculty, a student body of 525, and the physical plant was estimated to be worth $125,000.[187]

A study of the curriculum of New Orleans University from its founding will reveal the seeming impracticability of it for Negro students of that time. Nevertheless, when the aim of the school is considered, to foster culture and to train Negroes for the teaching profession and the ministry, it was not wholly unsuited for the stated objectives. The first catalogue for the year 1873-74 shows the following departments of study: Grammar School; Commercial Department; Preparatory Department; Normal Department; Theological Department; College Department, which was itself divided into the scientific and classical departments. The catalogue for the following year shows that a Medical School had been added with a curriculum that met the requirements of the State Medical Board. In later years the School of Pharmacy and the School of Nurse-Training were added. From 1887 to 1897 numerous industrial courses were offered, but the Board of Education soon discovered that to equip a school to do first class work in these fields far greater sums of money would be necessary than it could command, and industrial courses except home economics were discontinued.

The classical curriculum for the year 1873-1874 was divided into three terms and the following subjects were required:

> Freshman year: Mathematics (Geometry); Greek, (Xenophon's Anabasis); Latin, (Cicero); History, (Ancient).

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[187] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1901, p. 131.

> For the following two terms the subjects were identical except for advanced courses in Latin and Greek.
> Sophomore year: Mathematics, (Higher Algebra); Greek, (Homer); Latin, (Cicero de Officiis); Natural History, (Botany). In the second term of the year Physiology was substituted for Botany and in the third term Civil Polity replaced Greek temporarily.
> Junior year: First term: Mathematics, Greek, French, Chemistry. Second term: Physics, Latin, French, Chemistry. Third term: Physics, Greek, French, English Rhetoric.
> Senior year: First term: Physics, Philosophy, Zoology, Greek. Second term: Philosophy, English Literature, Theology. Third term: Geology, Theology, Political Science.[188]

This course of study continued practically intact for nearly forty years. After 1910, the curriculum of New Orleans University was comparable to that in any college offering courses leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree.

The statistics of the graduates of New Orleans University in 1935 reveals something of the contribution of this institution to the education of the Negro race. In that year 490 students had graduated from the College of Liberal Arts; 326 from the Normal School; 273 from the Teacher's College; 14 from the Music Department; and 7 from the Commercial Department, making a total of 949 graduates. Several of the graduates received more than one degree. The total of all degrees and Normal and Teacher's College diplomas conferred by New Orleans University from the time of its establishment in 1873 to 1935 numbered 1135.[189] Among the prominent alumni of the institution will be found the names of Professor J. E. W. Bowen, Ph. D., Bishop A. P.

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[188] Seventy Years of Service, pp. 22-23.
[189] Ibid., p. 75.

Camphor, the Reverend Walter Scott Chinn, Dr. Matthew S. Davage, Bishop Robert E. Jones, Dr. Ernest Lyon, Dr. M. C. B. Mason, Dr. P. M. Marshall, Dr. John Hamilton Reed, Mr. John Louis Wilson, Dr. I. W. Young, and many others.

For many years a cooperative movement among the institutions for Negroes in New Orleans was advocated by leading educators and Churchmen. Straight University was founded by the American Missionary Association in New Orleans in 1869. It had existed through the years, offering a similar program of education to the Negroes as the Methodist New Orleans University. Early efforts to unite these two schools failed for various reasons, chiefly because of opposition to it among the denominational boards. The Slater Fund Board of Trustees attempted a union of the two schools in 1895, but the following letter to Dr. J. C. Hartzell to President Adkinson of New Orleans University in that year reveals the sentiment concerning this union at that time. Dr. Hartzell wrote:

> The question of appropriations for New Orleans University is up, as you know, and the Slater Board referred to the Education Committee of which Bishop Galloway (of the M. E. Church, South) is a member, and he has been requested to consult you upon the point involved: that is, whether a union cannot be made between New Orleans and Straight Universities. You have already expressed your sentiment as to the foolishness of such a course, and I fully agree with you. I wish you would do two things: give me briefly your reasons why you consider such a proposition as unwise and impracticable, and communicate with Bishop Galloway at once . . .[190]

Further efforts at the consolidation of Negro education finally resulted in the realization of a new university, bringing together the two Negro institutions, and the Flint-Goodridge Hospital, a Methodist Negro hospital which grew out of the organization of a Medical Department at New Orleans University in 1889. In the development of the new university, named Dillard University for the highly esteemed Southern educator, Dr. James H. Dillard, the American Missionary Association, the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the General Education Board, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and citizens of New Orleans, have participated. Much inspiration came to the movement as a result of pledges amounting to three hundred thousand dollars made by the citizens of New Orleans in a campaign conducted immediately after the organization of the University in 1930. The new Flint-Goodridge Hospital was opened February 1, 1932, as the first completed unit of Dillard University. The plans for the development of Dillard University included the erection of nine buildings on a campus of seventy acres. The program for the undergraduate college opened in 1935, under the supervision of President Will W. Alexander. At the present time, Dr. William Stuart Nelson, a graduate of Yale University, is the head of the institution.[191]

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[190] Hartzell to Adkinson, June 11, 1895. Hartzell Papers.

Thus the crude school for the education of preachers, established by the Mississippi Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1865, finds an enlarged opportunity for service to the Negro race through Dillard University.

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191 Dillard University Bulletin, (April, 1935), pp. 14-15.

Wiley University.

This institution, now known as Wiley College, was established by the Freedmen's Aid Society at Marshall, Texas, in the year 1873. According to a letter received by the Reverend J. C. Hartzell in 1873 who at the time was Presiding Elder of the New Orleans District, the Reverend P. Barth was the first Methodist missionary to inaugurate the movement for a Methodist school in that section of the South west. In a letter to one of the Methodist bishops, Hartzell stated that he had "good news from Brother P. Barth. He is in Marshall, Texas and has every prospect of starting a church and school." According to Hartzell, the Democratic papers at Marshall commended Barth and his attempts to establish a Negro school.[192]

The results of this early Northern pioneer's labors in Texas was Wiley University. This institution in 1873 was under the supervision of the Reverend F. C. Moore and his wife. The Society had purchased a two-story frame house in which the "university" was conducted. In 1873 one hundred students came from the surrounding country to attend the school. The Principal of the school reported that "two young ladies, ages about fourteen and sixteen, and several young men, have walked nine miles a day to and from the school during the past session, and part of the time with blistering feet, through heat and frequent rain."[193]

Wiley University first opened on March 17, 1873, and closed its first term June 20th. The students were so eager to continue that after the school was dismissed "they gathered around Mrs. F. C. Moore, their music teacher, and continued to sing for hours." Going to school apparently was a novelty for the Negroes of that time. The state of Texas was dilatory in the establishment of common schools for Negroes. It was reported by the Freedmen's Aid Society that up until 1873 the "public schools among the colored people have been little more than a burlesque." Attempting to meet the needs for elementary training and the preparation of teachers and preachers, the Society declared the school free to all, and made no charges for instruction in "music and the useful arts."[194]

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[192] Hartzell to "Bishop," March 24, 1873. Hartzell MS.

[193] Report of the F. A. S., 1873, p. 26.

One of the teachers of the school in Texas reported in 1874 that the whites were opposed to Negro education. He stated:

> Great efforts are being made by Southern whites to keep the freedmen out of school, such as warning them that their lives will not be safe if they go, and refusing to pay them money for their labor. Mr. ---, a young man twenty-one years of age, came here from his home, a distance of twenty miles, most of the way in the night, avoiding main roads, taking unfrequented paths through the woods, to avoid attracting attention. Every colored man who is seen moving round through the country must give an account of himself and his business. Mr. --- does not dare return to his home during term-time. One of the young men who attended school here last Winter, has been working all Summer and Fall for a white man, and saving everything to help him get an education. When his wages amounted to upward a hundred dollars, he decided to go to school, asked for his wages due, and was refused, with the assertion from his employor that 'none of his money should go to send a nigger to school.' As there is no redress here for the

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[194] *Ibid.*, 1873, p. 26.

> poor coloredman, he could only go to work again for his bread. This is only one of hundreds of such cases.[195]

By 1877 the opposition to Negro schools in Texas had apparently disappeared for the report of the Society for that year announced that the people were favorable to the school at Marshall. "We can not tell how deeply seated this is in their affections," declared the report, "a crisis would probably raise many more enemies than friends. We are glad that this spirit of opposition has ceased from whatever cause; and we are persuaded there is a deep current of sympathy in favor of the school, which, if undisturbed by political agitation, will grow into a strong element of power for our Church. There is not the opposition to the elevation of the colored people in the South that cruel caste pretends. Some oppose Negro advancement, and the well wishing part of the community do not openly countenance the cause; but under the power of the Gospel of free grace and free thought, the opposition will give way."[196]

In 1879 the site of Wiley University was changed. Previous to this time the school had been located on a farm some few miles from Marshall, in a poor location and difficult of access. After a trial of a few years it was found impossible to build up an institution in that place, and the location was exchanged for a property in town. Two brick edifices, intended to be the wings of the main University building, to be erected when "some benevolent friend of this enterprise shall furnish the funds."[197] With these two edifices costing seven thousand dollars, the institution entered upon the work of educating the Negroes of Texas with renewed efficiency and cheering prospects of success.

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[195] Report of the *F. A. S.*, 1874, p. 11.

[196] *Ibid.*, 1877, p. 29.

Under the presidency of the Reverend W. H. Davis, the school rapidly gained in influence and attendance. In 1881 the total number of students attending Wiley University was reported to be 323, and all were "eager to secure a good education, and making the best use of their advantages."[198] Another boarding hall was added to the university in 1881, giving accommodations for seventy boarding students. The property of the school at this time was worth $18,000.

The chief aim of Wiley University as stated in 1881 was that of training teachers and preachers to serve among their own people. There was a great want of Negro common school teachers, for the state had not provided for their training. The Negro preachers of that section were illiterate, and their preaching was described as negative if not "debasing." With this objective in view, the struggling Methodist institution at Marshall had accomplished encouraging results, according to the report of the Society in 1881. Many teachers and preachers had already gone out from the school to labor among their race and were successfully engaging in their respective tasks.[199]

Little expansion in the physical plant of Wiley University had been effected since the wings of the Main Building were erected in 1879. The "benevolent friend" had not made his appearance in 1887 and reports from the University presented conditions as detrimental to the progress of the institution. The buildings, with crowding of the students could only accommodate sixty-eight students. The increase above this number were compelled to find boarding facilities outside the school. The recitation-rooms were so deficient in number that the teachers conducted classes in both the library and chapel.[200] The adverse conditions under which the teachers in Wiley University labored are well illustrated in a letter written to Dr. J. C. Hartzell of the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1891, by Professor A. O. Coffin. He said:

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[197] Report of the F. A. S., 1879, p. 8.
[198] Ibid., 1881, p. 19.
[199] Ibid., p. 20.

> Dear Dr. Hartzell:--As you must know, through our president, our school is progressing, with an enrollment of one hundred and sixty-one before the first month closes; but I feel moved to write especially of my department.
>
> The university does not own five cents' worth of apparatus or appliances of any kind, except what I have bought with my own money. How can I be expected to teach classes in physical science with even the shadow of success?
>
> In zoology, I collected my specimens from the woods; in geology, I bought a cabinet with my money; and in chemistry and physics, I shall be compelled to do likewise; and I think it is too much to require or ask of me from my salary.
>
> You may say I am not required to do these things; but am I not responsible for the classes intrusted to me? Just imagine a class being taught geology three months without a rock or mineral in the room, and you have what I consider a term's work absolutely thrown away. In physics we need everything; but a microscope and air-pump above all. Are there not schools in this work with second-hand instruments, which they would give us? Anything will be better

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[200] Report of the F. A. S., 1887, p. 13.

> than we have.
>
> I write this letter because we need these things, and need them sorely, and have needed them ever since such classes have been taught; and if we do not get them, you must expect our advanced students to leave us for other schools, where they can find equipments, as our yearly experience clearly shows.[201]

By 1891, Wiley University had an enrollment of 337 students. No college courses had been offered at that time, so in reality the school was little more than an elementary school. A classification of students in that year shows the number of students in each department as follows: College Preparatory, 17; Normal Course, 5; English Course, which included the first to the sixth grades, 309; Music, 38; Theological, 10; Manual Training, 92; Book-keeping, 27. The school was under the instruction of nine teachers including the president, Dr. George Whittaker.[202]

After a term of two years as President of the University the Reverend P. A. Cool resigned, and the Reverend I. B. Scott was appointed by Dr. Hartzell in 1893 to the office.[203] This appointment marked a new era in the history of the institution, for prior to the appointment of Scott, a Negro, white men from the North had been in charge of the school. After serving the school for two years, he was elected to the editorship of the Southwestern Christian Advocate, and later Missionary Bishop to Africa.

In 1896, Dr. Matthew W. Dogan, another colored man, became president of Wiley, and has served in this capacity to the present time. A graduate of Rust University, Dr. Dogan was a product of the Freedmen's schools and the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South. An honorable representative of the race for which the Methodist schools were founded, he has become one of the most prominent of Negro educators.

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[201] Letter of Coffin to Hartzell as quoted by The Christian Educator (January, 1891), pp. 59-60.

[202] The Christian Educator (July, 1891), pp. 206-207.

[203] Hartzell to Scott, June 30, 1893. Hartzell Papers.

At the close of the century, Wiley University had graduated fifty-two students, and two thousand had been in attendance from the time of its establishment. Most of the graduates were teachers and preachers, one of the latter, the Reverend R. Williams was a bishop in the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. Among the graduates were a number of leading physicians in various Texas cities.[204]

The history of the institution since 1900 has been a gradual transformation of the typical colored school of that time into a four-year college offering courses leading to the Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees. It is rated as an "A" grade college by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States, and was the first Negro college west of the Mississippi River to achieve this distinction. The two-story frame building in 1873 has been replaced with eleven buildings, and the student body, which at the beginning included less than a hundred bare-foot Freedmen, now numbers well over a thousand. Among the more recent distinguished alumni of Wiley is Reverend Willis J. King, Ph. D., D. D., president of Gammon Theological Seminary. The emphasis upon teacher training for the public schools is still maintained at Wiley, although the educational program includes pre-medical and business courses, music, home economics, beauty culture, extension courses in several centers, and a summer school which keeps the school continuously in use throughout the year.

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[204] The Christian Educator (June-July, 1898), p. 124.

Gilbert Academy.

General N. P. Banks of the Union army laid the first stone to the foundation of the institution which is today known as Gilbert Academy. While in command of the Federal troops at New Orleans in 1863, General Banks issued an order requiring the Commissioner of the Freedmen's work to gather the orphans of colored Union soldiers and support them. Prior to the action of General Banks the colored children had become scattered and lost in the city, and some of them had been found dead, famished while their mothers looked for employment.[205] In the execution of this order, General Thomas Conway, a Baptist minister in charge of Freedmen's affairs, collected one hundred Negro children and housed them in the confiscated mansion of Pierre Soule, who had represented the Confederate government in Franch.[206] The Colored Orphan's Home was maintained by the Federal Government for a period of three years. When the government withdrew its support it was temporarily discontinued, and the Negro orphans narrowly escaped being apprenticed by the government to their former owners until they had reached the age of twenty-one years.[207]

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[205] Stowell, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
[206] Letter of General Banks, June 25, 1879, as quoted in Godman, W. D., *Gilbert Academy and Agricultural College* (New York, 1893), p. 52.
[207] *Ibid.*

Soon after this act of charity was begun, a Frenchman, M. de Bossier, chanced to be in New Orleans and visited the Marine Hospital in which the children at that time were maintained by the Freedmen's Bureau. His sympathy was aroused when he beheld the condition of the colored children and offered to give ten thousand dollars to purchase a farm home provided the friends of the orphans would add twenty thousand dollars to his gift. de Bossier expressed the desire to remove the children from the city to the country, where they would be taught the elements of education and means of self-support. The Reverend John P. Newman of the Methodist Episcopal Church took an active part in securing the needed money. He appealed to General Howard of the Freedmen's Bureau for a grant of ten thousand dollars, hoping to raise the other ten thousand dollars from other sources. General Howard responded to the appeal of Dr. Newman with a gift of the sum asked, and the latter secured the remaining part needed.[208]

The Orphan's Home Society of Louisiana was incorporated October 14, 1866, and had for its object the taking care of orphan children, without distinction of sex or race. The charter provided that the "President, Treasurer, Corresponding Secretary, and two-thirds of the Board of Managers, shall be members of the Methodist Episcopal Church," and also that the institution "shall be under the auspices of the Mississippi Mission Conference;" and at the second session of that Conference in 1866 the trust was accepted. When the Mississippi Mission Conference was divided, the school came under the auspices of the Louisiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[209] Thus the Methodists gained the controlling interest in the new project which had been up until this time a cooperative enterprise between Protestants and Roman Catholics. According to Dr. J. C. Hartzell, the Catholics wanted to determine the religious instruction, and when the Protestants protested, the Catholics withdrew.[210]

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[208] Godman, _op. cit._, p. 50.

A large sugar plantation in St. Mary's Parish, Louisiana, which "had witnessed the joys and sorrows of generations of masters and slaves," was offered for sale by the sheriff of the parish, and was purchased by Newman for the new location of the Orphan's Home. In February, 1867, when the Freedmen's Hospital had to be discontinued and the Marine Hospital turned over to the state of Louisiana, the large family of one hundred and two Negro children, with such equipment as had been used by them, were transferred to the sugar plantation on the Teche Bayou, at Baldwin, Louisiana. A day school was immediately begun, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church furnishing the teachers.[211] Fourteen thousand dollars of the money raised was used for the purchase of the plantation and the erection of suitable buildings. Although the Methodists furnished the teachers, the institution was non-sectarian from the beginning, in accordance with the wishes of those who had supported the enterprise.

Miss Sarah Sampson had supervision of the education of the orphans both in New Orleans and at the sugar plantation. In the report of the Society for 1868, she was reported to have been engaged in this work for two years, thus she was the first teacher among the Methodists in the work of education in that locality.[212]

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[209] Report of the F. A. S., 1872, p. 26.
[210] Letter of Hartzell to the Northwestern Christian Advocate, January 8, 1873.
[211] Godman, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

In 1871, the Orphan's Home school was rapidly progressing. Through the gift of a liberal donation by Mr. Stephen Griffith, of Danville, Illinois, an adjoining tract of "sugar land" was purchased, which, in addition to the seventeen hundred acres purchased a few years before, gave the school a considerable amount of property which increased its income. Besides, Mrs. J. S. Roberts, the matron of the Home, two teachers were employed by the Freedmen's Aid Society who had supervision of the educational activities. The school was divided at this time into two departments, a lower and higher, and the pupils were reported to be making excellent progress. About a dozen of the pupils educated at the Home were already making good salaries, teaching in the public schools.[213]

By 1872, additional donations from the Legislature of Louisiana, the Freedmen's Bureau, and others had increased the holdings of the Orphan's Home until its property was estimated to be worth $75,000.[214] Plans were made to make the institution self-supporting from the proceeds of the sugar industry, but several incidents occurred in the next two years to interfere with this plan. Public funds were withdrawn from the institution, an explosion in the sugar factory wrecked the building, other contributory causes placed the institution in jeopardy, and by 1874 a number of the orphans had to be placed in private homes for care.

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[212] Report of the F. A. S., 1868, p. 16.
[213] Ibid., 1871, p. 12.
[214] Report of the F. A. S., 1872, p. 27.

When the Reverend W. D. Godman came to Louisiana in 1875, he was under appointment by the Freedmen's Aid Society to preside over the New Orleans University. Godman and his wife were requested to spend the Spring and Summer of that year at the Orphan's Home, and proceed from there to the University at the beginning of the Fall term. His mission at the Orphan's Home was the organization of that institution into a school for the preparation of students for New Orleans University, which he did, naming it the LaTeche Seminary.

The LaTeche Seminary opened on April 1, 1875 under the supervision of Dr. Godman. From his Journal, the following entry presents a description of the student body and conditions at the new school. It reads:

> April 1, 1875. --Seminary opened this day at 9 a. m. in the school-house, a building presented by the Freedmen's Bureau to the Orphan's Home Society. Present, W. D. Godman and Mrs. A. H. Dexter Godman, teachers; and fifty-six pupils, all of genuine ebony or snuff color and of various grades of attainment, some learning the alphabet and some studying algebra and natural philosophy. We formed nineteen classes, besides such as may require lessons in penmanship, and two advanced students, one in biblical science and one in Latin, who will need instruction in private. To the color of the students two notable exceptions should not be overlooked, namely, the daughter of the Principal and the son of the matron of the Orphan's Home . . . We were interested and at the same time grieved, to find that quite a large number, and some of them not mere children, could not give their age, for the good reason that they did not know it. . . . Quite likely their parents could give us no more accurate information on this point than the children. They

> would say such a one was 'bawn yeah 'fo de wah,' and such a one 'second yeah after de wah.' . . . One coal-black lad, with a broad square face and features contrived to hide expression, when asked for his age replied, 'Three times seven.'[215]

In the Fall of 1875, Dr. Godman left the LaTeche Seminary and took up his duties as President of New Orleans University. In 1876, the Seminary was in charge of Mr. R. L. Thompson. In 1877-78 it was taught by Miss Mahaffy. During the years 1878-1880 it was suspended. Reorganized in 1881, the LaTeche Seminary had an enrollment of two hundred and fifteen students, the list being published in the catalogue of New Orleans University. The following year, the student body had increased to two hundred and fifty-five.

Returning to the LaTeche Seminary sometime between the year 1881 and 1885, Dr. Godman was once more in charge of the institution. During a trip to the North, Dr. Godman had been instrumental in securing a gift of $10,000 from the Honorable William M. Gilbert, of Winstead, Connecticut, for the erection of two new buildings.[216] Upon his death, Mr. Gilbert left in his will an endowment of $40,000 for the school which was received by the Freedmen's Aid Society in January, 1892. Because of the generous gifts of this Northern benefactor, the institution was named in his honor, and became the Gilbert Seminary, and still later the Gilbert Academy and Agricultural College.

In 1891, the Gilbert Academy had a faculty of thirteen teachers, and nineteen practicing teachers. The total number of students in that year was reported to be 390, with the greater number of them in the English branches of study. The classification of students for that year is as follows: College Preparatory, 16; English Course, 374; Theological, 4; Music, 23; Agriculture, 27; Printing, 12; Carpentry, 16; Housekeeping, 40; Sewing, 37; Cooking 23; Dress-making, 5; Bakery, 3; Laundry, 70; Penmanship, 168.[217] The majority of students at this time had "received the grace of conversion and are leading worthy lives." According to Dr. Godman, two hundred of the students had become staunch "defenders and exemplars of total abstinence."[218] Two years later, Godman announced that the temperance organization was flourishing in the institution. He had succeeded in enrolling over two hundred in that year who were reported to be wearing the prohibition badge and had signed the triple pledge, enthusiastic in the "maintenance of their principles here and at home." So firm were these students in their beliefs concerning prohibition that "wondrous to relate," they were "capable in the Christmas recess of resisting the fascinations of eggnog."[219] This state of facts, said Godman, was a note of marvelous progress in Negro morality.

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[215] Godman, op. cit., pp. 80-82.

[216] Report of the F. A. S., 1885, p. 26.

Dr. Godman was forced to relinquish the position as active head of Gilbert Academy and Industrial College in 1894 because of ill health, and from that time until his retirement from the educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, gave himself to the raising of money for the institution.[220] He retained the presidency of the school in name, and Professor Alexander D. Camphor was elected Vice-President to assume active supervision. In a few years the Reverend A. E. P. Albert succeeded Professor Camphor as Vice-President.

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[217] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1891, p. 220.
[218] Godman, op. cit., p. 306.
[219] Godman, op. cit., pp. 44-45.
[220] Hartzell to L. G. Adkinson, August 1, 1894. Hartzell Papers.

In 1900, the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society voted to change the course of study at Gilbert Academy, so as to emphasize the industrial work. It continued this policy until 1919 when it was consolidated with New Orleans University. The school was then located on the grounds of the university at New Orleans, in order that the work might reach a larger number of young people, and that after graduation from Gilbert they might find it easier to take the wider preparation for college. The old Orphanage, which had been connected with the school at Baldwin, Louisiana, was turned over to the Woman's Home Missionary Society and this organization established an orphanage for the colored children of the South.

At the present time Gilbert Academy is continued on the campus of the old New Orleans University, as a preparatory school, offering four years of secondary work. The Academy, which is accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, has a present enrollment of over a hundred students and is considered to be one of the best secondary schools in the country.[221]

Gilbert Academy owes a great deal of its success to the untiring energy, industry, economy, and management of Dr. William D. Godman. It remains today as a monument to this early educator among the Freedmen.

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[221] Dr. Horace M. Bond, prominent educator of the South, says of Gilbert Academy: "I am always glad to affirm, everywhere, my conviction that Gilbert Academy is one of the best, if not the best, secondary schools for Negro youth in the country." From a letter of Dr. Bond to Mrs. Margaret D. Bowen, principal of the Academy, in 1937.

Philander Smith College.

Philander Smith College represents one of the early attempts of the Methodist Episcopal Church to make educational available for the Freedmen west of the Mississippi River. By action of the General Conference of 1876, the Little Rock Conference originated from the Arkansas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was composed mainly of colored ministers. The Little Rock Conference began at once to lay plans for the establishment of a school. In 1876, the institution was organized as Walden Seminary, at Little Rock, Arkansas, and work was begun in connection with a Negro church. The Freedmen's Aid Society appointed Miss Helen Perkins, a former teacher at Wiley University, as its first principal. She was succeeded by the Reverend Thomas Mason, a graduate of Asbury (now Depauw) University, in 1877, who served in this capacity until September, 1896.

Meanwhile, the Arkansas Conference had organized its institution and erected a building at Little Rock. The institution was known as Little Rock University and Dr. George W. Gray, later connected with the Freedmen's Aid Society, was at that time president. While campaigning for funds for his institution, he met Mrs. Adeline Smith of Oak Park, Illinois, a member of a family of liberal givers to Asiatic missions. She developed an interest in the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South and wished that whatever donations she might make should be shared by the work for the Freedmen. In her contributions for Southern education, in 1883, she designated $10,500 to the struggling Walden Seminary. The trustees accepted the donation and in recognition of such action, changed the name of the institution to Philander Smith College in honor of Mrs. Smith's husband who was then deceased. Mrs. Smith contributed a like sum a few years later to the institution.

The Philander Smith College was chartered as a collegiate institution in March, 1883, making it the first institution of higher education for the Negroes in Arkansas. The cornerstone for the first building was laid in May of the same year. At the same time, the Woman's Home Missionary Society erected a home for the purpose of teaching home-training to the young women of the college. Both buildings were dedicated in February, 1884.

The increased eagerness on the part of the colored people of that section to gain the advantages of education resulted in such crowded conditions at the college that a larger building was erected to accommodate young women. In 1885, the Slater Fund, through its Agent, Dr. A. G. Haygood, made a special grant for instructors in the manual arts and a shop was built for the teaching of carpentry and printing. In 1886, the Reverend James M. Cox, a colored man, came to the college as Professor of Ancient Languages, thus beginning a long career of usefulness in connection with the school.

By 1888, the college had grown to a considerable degree. The faculty numbered six, the enrollment had reached a total of two hundred and fifty-two students and the property of the school was evaluated at $25,000. Courses were offered in Mental and Moral Science, Ancient and Modern Languages, Mathematics, History, English Literature, Music, and Elementary branches. According to the classification of students in that year, they were divided among the following groups: College Classes, 14; Preparatory Department, 17; English Course, 153; Instrumental Music, 18; Vocal Music, 8; Schools of Industry, 42.[222] The first degree class was graduated from the college in 1888.

The curriculum of Philander Smith College had been enlarged by 1892 to include the Classical, Philosophical, Scientific, Nurse Training, Theological, Industrial, and Graded Courses. The Classical Course is worthy of note, for it represents the strictly classical curriculum of the Negro colleges under Methodist control at that time, and which the present day colleges have largely abandoned. Such subjects as Livy, Herodotus, Tacitus, Thucydides, Cicero, Horace, Demosthenes, French, German, Algebra, Analytical Geometry, Calculus, New Testament, and Surveying were taught in the freshman and sophomore years. The junior and senior years the following courses were offered: Chemistry, Rhetoric, English Literature, Physics, Logic, Psychology, Butler's Analogy, Art Criticism, Astronomy, Ethics, History of Philosophy, Rational Theism, Political Economy, History of Civilization, and Evidences of Christianity.[223]

The Nurse Training Course, which prepared young women as professional nurses, the curriculum included a thorough study of anatomy and a course in midwifery.[224]

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[222] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1888, pp. 31-32.
[223] Annual Catalogue of Philander Smith College, 1892-93, p. 24.

Special attention was given at Philander Smith College in 1892 to religious instruction. The curriculum of the Biblical Department, designed to meet the needs of local preachers who did not intend to enter the traveling connection in the Conferences, included a special Bible course of one year, to be pursued in connection with the regular course of study. This course included such subjects as Bible studies, Bible and Church History, Biblical Doctrines, Sermon and Preaching techniques. The advanced Bible course included the following subjects: Exegetical Theology, Historical Theology, and Practical Theology. In addition to the special courses for young men studying for the ministry, an English Bible course, designed to be a systematic and thorough study of the Bible, was required of all students. The course covered a four year period, with sixty lessons per year, to be taken in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades and the first year of the Normal or Preparatory Courses. Religious instruction was provided for the lower grades, below the fourth, by the teacher of each room who instructed the pupils in the elements of religion for ten minutes each day following the chapel exercises.[225]

An interesting view of the disciplinary measures enforced in the Philander Smith College in the early 1890's is gained by a perusal of the college catalogue for 1892-1893. Concerning the rules of the College, the catalogue stated that the following were expected to be observed by all students:

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[224] Ibid., p. 29.
[225] Ibid., p. 30.

> Regular and prompt attendance at recitation, at chapel, at Sabbath services, observance of evening study hours. The use of tobacco and intoxicating liquors and card-playing are positively forbidden. Loud laughing and jumping, and all unnecessary noise in the college building; leaving town without the consent of the President; using obscene or profane language; visiting each other's rooms during study hours; visiting circuses or theatres, and all other breaches of good morals are forbidden.[226]

When the Reverend James M. Cox, a colored man, was elected president in 1896, most of the faculty was composed of white people. According to a letter to Dr. Hamilton of the Freedmen's Aid Society, the appointment of Professor Cox was considered by the Society to be an experiment to see what success the colored people might have in conducting the affairs of their own schools.[227] The following years revealed that the experiment was successful, for during the administration of President Cox the school developed to an exceptional degree. During his supervision of the college, which lasted until 1924, four large buildings were constructed and radical changes were made in the curriculum. By 1900, the student body had reached a total of 465, and the faculty numbered thirteen teachers.[228]

Since the turn of the century, Philander Smith College has gradually eliminated the elementary branches of study. By 1924, the lower grades had been discontinued, and the divisions of the school consisted of the College, High School, Teacher Training Course, Music

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[226] Annual Catalogue of Philander Smith College, 1892-93, p. 53.
[227] Hamilton to Rev. F. F. King, May 6, 1898. Hamilton Papers.
[228] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1901, p. 131.

Department, Business School, and the Industrial Home for Girls.[229]

In 1933, the interests of the George R. Smith College, at Sedalia, Missouri, which was burned in 1925, were formally merged with Philander Smith College through joint action of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the trustees of the two schools.

At the present time, the institution is a four-year Negro college, with a curriculum suited to the needs of the modern times. In the first two years the curriculum is a general one, offering survey and orientation courses designed to produce integration into the philosophy of living. The last two years are devoted to a more intensive specialization in the student's chosen field. The college represents the program in higher education of the entire Columbus Area which includes the Negro constituency of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the states of Arkansas, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Kansas, Missouri, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Ohio, Colorado, and Wisconsin. It is the only four-year college in the state of Arkansas under church supervision.

Meridian Academy.

Meridian Academy, later known as Haven Institute, had its beginning in the "fertile brain" of Moses Adams, an old colored man, an ex-slave, and a preacher before the Civil War, who urged the Negroes of Meridian, Mississippi to establish an educational institution.

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[229] Catalogue of Philander Smith College, 1923-24.

The school opened under the supervision of Mrs. L. V. Kever who instructed the Freedmen successfully for ten years. Since its very beginning, the school was under the direction of colored leaders.[230]

In 1875, Robert A. Adams, the son of Moses Adams, assumed control of the institution, and taught its students until 1888. In that year John H. Brooks and Miss Annie Barr, both recent graduates of Rust University, came to the school as its teachers. Miss Barr became the wife of Principal Brooks in later years.

The first statistics concerning the school are given in the report of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society for 1888, for it was in this year that the Society offered aid to the school for the first time. Previously, the school had been maintained by the Negro Methodists of Mississippi. In 1888, the school had an enrollment of 217 students, classified in the following manner: Music, 42; Grammar School, 68; Primary students, 107.[231]

During the next year the college preparatory and normal departments were added, and the physical plant enlarged to represent a total investment of $3,000.[232] Owing to additional aid from the Society, the Academy had doubled the value of its property by 1892.[233]

Griffin G. Logan was appointed to the presidency of Meridian Academy in 1892 and served until 1897, when J. L. Wilson succeeded him. The latter reported in 1898 that from the establishment of the school to that time, the Academy had enrolled over fifteen hundred students.

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[230] Haven Institute Annual, 1921, pp. 12-13.
[231] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1888, p. 38.
[232] Ibid., 1889, pp. 38-39.
[233] Ibid., 1892, p. 50.

Seventy-eight of these students had graduated from the institution, and had become editors, physicians, mail agents, preachers, teachers, merchants, and farmers.[234]

When the Haven Academy at Waynesboro, Georgia was discontinued in 1915, the name of the honored bishop which was identified with this school, was transferred to the institution at Meridian. Thus the Meridian Academy became known as the Haven Institute. In 1921, Haven Institute was removed to a new location in the city of Meridian. Until that year the school property was the home of a Southern girl's school known as Meridian College and Conservatory. It was purchased by the Methodist Board of Education for Negroes at a cost of $151,250. In the early 1920's the student body of Haven Institute averaged over four hundred students, but there was a considerable decrease in students toward the end of this decade. In the recent consolidation of Negro schools this institution was discontinued.

Samuel Huston College.

The first attempts to establish a school in Austin, Texas, for the Freedmen was undertaken by a Northern Methodist missionary and his wife in the year 1873. It was known at that time as the Texas Training School. These two pioneers of Negro education had a great deal of difficulty in the realization of their plans for the school. The Freedmen's Bureau promised them a building but later retracted the offer, and failing to find property for the school at a fair price, the missionaries conducted the school for a time in the Negro meeting-house, which according to their report was "almost entirely destitute of the accommodations necessary to a good school."[235] The school was discontinued soon thereafter.

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[234] The Christian Educator (June-July, 1898), p. 123.

This unsuccessful beginning marked a thirty year struggle among the Negroes of the West Texas Conference to establish a school for their race. By resolution of the Conference in November, 1876, a school organized in the basement of Saint Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church at Dallas in February, 1876, became the official educational institution of the body. The Reverend George C. Richardson of the Minnesota Conference organized the school at Dallas, and became its first executive. It was named the Saint Andrew's Normal College. This institution, for various reasons, was no more successful than the Texas Training School, and in the next year was removed to Austin.[235a]

In 1880, Dr. Rust of the Freedmen's Aid Society, purchased a tract of land of six acres for the Freedmen's school, and invited "any person of means to give a name to the institution and a school building for its accommodation."[236] In 1882, it was announced that the West Texas Conference had pledged several thousand dollars toward the enterprise, and a building was expected to be erected and ready for occupancy the next year.[237]

After this action by the Freedmen's Aid Society, Mr. Samuel Huston, of Marengo, Iowa, after whom the college is named, contributed $9,000 to the enterprise. Doctors Rust and Hartzell of the

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[235] Report of the *F. A. S.*, 1873, pp. 33-34.
[235a] *Catalogue of Samuel Huston College*, 1937-38, p. 15.
[236] Report of the *F. A. S.*, 1882, p. 6.
[237] *Ibid.*

Society gave permission for work on the building to begin. The stone foundation and basement were built. There the construction stopped, "and for sixteen years the basement stood unused in the face of beating rains."[238]

In the meantime, an institution was established by the Freedmen's Aid Society at Houston, Texas, at the instigation of the Texas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Property at **Houston** had been purchased in 1881 by the Society for $7,500, and a seminary "with a large number of pupils," was under the supervision of the Reverend Mr. Campbell and his wife, who were said to be "experienced and successful educators from Illinois."[239] By 1885, the Houston Seminary had added another member to the faculty, and one hundred and fifty students were reported to be receiving the benefits of education. The school was discontinued for unknown reasons in 1887,[240] and its resources probably were merged with the institution at Austin.

Although no building had been erected at Samuel Huston College, and the school was not listed in the reports of the Society for several years, the report for the year 1888 lists the institution as being under the supervision of Thomas M. Dart, Principal, and Ida E. McLane, assistant. At this time there were forty students in attendance and classified in the following manner: Normal, 10; Academic, 15; Primary, 15.[241]

After 1888, the school was closed for the lack of funds to finish the structure begun in the early 1880's. In 1898, Dr. J. W. Hamilton of the Freedmen's Aid Society, made a contract to inclose the building and finish one story for occupancy. Owing to the financial stress of the times, another lull occurred in the completion of the structure, but in 1900 it was completed at the cost of $30,000.[242]

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[238] *Catalogue of Samuel Huston College*, 1937-38, p. 15.

[239] Report of the *F. A. S.*, 1882, p. 7.

[240] Huston Seminary not listed in the reports of the Society after 1887.

[241] Report of the *F. A. S. E. S.*, 1888, p. 38.

In 1900, at the earnest request of the Reverend Moses Smith and other presiding elders and pastors, Dr. W. P. Thirkield, who had been elected Secretary of the Society in that year, authorized the opening of the school. Professor Reuben S. Lovinggood, then professor of Latin and Greek at Wiley College, was chosen by the Society to open the institution. He arrived in November, 1900, and found one floor of the building finished and only four rooms available for occupancy. Circulars of announcement had been sent out and the response was so enthusiastic that on the day of opening, eighty pupils enrolled, more than twice the expected number. Forty-one of the students came to board in a building in which "birds nested in the rafters, and pigs and goats slept in the basement."[243] There was no kitchen, no dining hall, no dishes, no furniture. Of this experience President Lovinggood said: "The students sat on the trunks while I gave them a lecture and went out to beg chairs, dishes, beds, etc. We called upon neighbors, both white and black; all responded liberally. Our first meal was a jug of molasses and fourteen loaves of bread."[244]

Various devices were invented by President Lovinggood to secure equipment for the college. A "chair social" at which the ticket of admission was a chair, brought thirty-seven chairs. There followed similar socials at which sheets, pillow cases, dishes, and laundry were given to aid the needy students and the struggling educational institution. Temporary rooms were prepared for the dining room and kitchen. The students were so crowded for room that President Lovinggood and his wife and son lived in one room; eight girls occupied another room; one teacher and twenty boys lived in four rooms.[245]

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[242] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1900, p. 763.
[243] Catalogue of Samuel Huston College, 1937-38, p. 16.
[244] Stowell, op. cit., p. 102.

The devotion of the Negroes to the school reveals their eagerness to support the cause of education for their race. For many years the colored washerwomen brought their small earnings and divided them with the school. Day laborers brought donations in weekly installments, and by this method one laborer contributed more than two hundred and fifty dollars.

Considerable opposition to the Negro school developed among the whites in the early 1900's. A white elementary school was located near Samuel Huston College, and the white children taunted the Negro students on several occasions. During a period of high feeling between the two races, the college adopted for its policy and motto: "Strive always to treat others better than they treat you," and it remains the motto of the school to the present time. This wise leadership of President Lovinggood during these critical times is demonstrated by the fact that when he died in 1917, the Mayor of Austin and the City Council attended the funeral in a body.[246]

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[245] Ibid., p. 102.
[246] Stowell, op. cit., p. 104.

Samuel Huston College stands as a monument to the heroic efforts of these early educators, especially Dr. Lovinggood,[247] and others who contributed to the success of the institution either by service or by financial support. Although in the early period of the existence of the college, as in other Methodist Negro schools, students were enrolled from the primary to the classical courses, lower branches of study were gradually eliminated leaving at the present time only the College of Liberal Arts.

Among the prominent alumni is found the name of Lawrence H. Lightner of the class of 1905, who is known as a successful business man, a conspicuous figure in several national organizations, including the Young Men's Christian Association.

At the present time Samuel Huston College is under the joint control of the Board of Education and The Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Under the present leadership of Stanley E. Grannum, the institution is rated as a senior college by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and other accrediting agencies, and continues to realize its chief aim of developing Christian character within its students.

West Tennessee Seminary.

The West Tennessee Seminary, at Mason, Tennessee, was established by the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1876. Little is known of its early history except that it was conducted as an elementary school. The first information regarding the status of the school is found in the report of the Society for the year 1885. The institution in that year had three teachers and one hundred and fifteen students.[248]

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[247] Colonel E. M. House said of Lovinggood: "He is one of the greatest educators of his race." Cited in Stowell, op. cit., p. 105.

In 1888, the Seminary was under the supervision of the Reverend Charles Alexander, assisted by Miss Amanda Davis. After a decline in the number of students in 1886 and 1887, the report of the Society in 1888 announced that one hundred and thirty-six students were in attendance, eighty-six of whom were in the primary department. The remaining students were listed as being in the Academic department which roughly corresponded to the present day junior high-school. The following year the school was discontinued by the Freedmen's Aid Society, after having served the colored people of Western Tennessee for thirteen years, During this time an average of over one hundred students were in attendance each year.

Morristown Seminary.

The school known today as Morristown Normal and Industrial College, and located at Morristown, Tennessee, had its beginning in a little grammar school for Negro children which was started by Mrs. A. H. Stearns, a missionary, in 1870. This educational pioneer began the school in a one-story frame shack, which had previously been used as slave-mart and hospital for the Union and Confederate soldiers. Mrs. Stearns continued to teach in the grammar-school until the Morristown Seminary was established by the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1881, at which time she was employed as Principal of the Primary Department in in the Seminary.

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[248] Report of the F. A. S., 1885, p. 5.

Morristown Seminary was founded by the Reverend Judson S. Hill as an institution for higher education of the colored people. He and his wife went to East Tennessee at the solicitation of Bishop H. W. Warren of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1881. At his death he held the distinction of having served more than a total of fifty years as president of the school.

The aim of the school, as stated by President Hill, was "to train young people to be self-respecting and self-helpful." It sought, also, to open up to the colored people of that section an opportunity to gain knowledge beyond the ordinary common school branches of that day, in order that they might prepare themselves for teachers and preachers among their own people. Young men and women were admitted upon the same conditions. The tuition was free and non-sectarian. While the catalogue of the institution in 1882 stated that it was under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church and supported by the Freedmen's Aid Society it was "open to all denominations."[249] The only charge made to the students was an incidental fee of fifty cents per month, and provisions were made in the boarding hall whereby a student could sustain himself for four dollars per month.

The aim of the school in supplying preachers and teachers for Tennessee was soon realized. When the school was started there were few of the Negro pastors of the East Tennessee Conference who could read or write. At the sessions of the Conference, it was often the task of President Hill to read their mail for them, and to write letters to their relatives and friends. After the school had been open only a year, many of the students were engaged to teach in the district schools in the surrounding country, and the preachers soon began to reveal the benefits of instruction.[250]

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[249] Second Annual Announcement of the Morristown Seminary, 1882-83.

Great emphasis was placed upon religious training as well as academic instruction from the very beginning of Morristown Seminary. All students were required to attend prayers in the Seminary chapel every morning and evening in the week; prayer meeting of Wednesday night and public worship on Sunday morning. In addition to these provisions for the development of the religious life, the students were required to memorize passages from the Bible every week. That the influences of the school was decidedly religious is revealed in the fact that during the first year "over forty students were happily converted and are now living Christian lives."[251] The social life of the students would seem to present day collegians to be excessively limited. Attendance at "balls and parties," was forbidden and also communication between the sexes without special permission of the president.

One hundred and ninety-three students enrolled in Morristown Seminary when it was opened in 1881,[252] and these ranged in age from seven to seventy years. According to a recent author, an interesting circumstance grew out of the fact that some of the first pupils of the school were elderly men and women, namely, that although the school is little more than fifty years old, there are in attendance at the present time some of the fifth generation descendants of those first pupils.[253]

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[250] Ibid., 1882-83.
[251] *Ibid.*
[252] *Ibid.*

The first building in which the Seminary was housed, was purchased by Bishop Warren in 1881. The structure was erected as a Baptist church, but later converted into a slave mart. One of the colored presiding elders of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Tennessee was, as a boy, sold in the building along with a calf, and later returned to it for an education. A teacher in the Morristown school, Professor Andrew F. Fulton, who rendered splendid service in this capacity for over forty years, was sold in the same building when a boy of eleven years for the sum of $1,166.[254]

The conducting of a Negro school in East Tennessee at the beginning of Morristown Seminary was no easy task. Although a strong Union sentiment had existed in that section of the country during the Civil War, the whites had little patience with Northern teachers who attempted to train Negroes in the higher branches of learning. More than one attempt was made to burn the buildings of the school, and President Hill found it necessary to "walk in the gutters at times rather than be shoved from the streets by prejudiced persons."[255]

President Hill had very little money with which to start an institution among the Negroes of East Tennessee, The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church made an appropriation of three hundred dollars to support Hill as a pastor of a white church, but he received no salary as a teacher. Mrs. Stearns, his assistant in the Seminary for the first year, received no salary except the small amount obtained from the tuition funds. Sometime later, President Hill received a salary of less than a dollar per day. Money was so scarce in the last decade of the century that it was necessary for the foundation of the second building, built by President Hill, to stand for ten years, 1890-1900, before money could be raised to erect the superstructure. It is reported that the money to finish this building came as a result of the president bathing the feet of Thomas Crary, who was suffering from gout. The relief was so pleasing to the Northern benefactor that he gave a sufficient sum to complete the building. Although many methods were employed by the resourceful educator in interesting others in the institution, he had raised more than a million dollars for the school before his death in 1931.[256]

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[253] Stowell, _op. cit._, p. 164.

[254] _The Christian Educator_ (October-November) 1895), p. 135.

[255] _Fifty-first Annual Catalogue of the Morristown Normal and Industrial College_, 1932-33, p. 9.

The conditions among the students of Morristown Seminary in 1881 were not very encouraging, but they were eager to secure the benefits of education according to a report from the school in 1881. Some of the students walked from two to six miles each way to attend the school. Students who came from distant parts worked long enough to pay their railroad fare to Morristown, and then "worked every hour out of school to pay the expenses." In order to be as economical as possible, many of them studied by the light of pine knots instead of candles. Some of these students had passed the middle period of life but were trying to learn their letters in order that they might read the Bible.[257]

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[256] Catalogue of Morristown Normal and Industrial College, 1932-33, pp. 8-10.

In the school year of 1883-1884, five teachers were serving on the faculty of the institution, and the student body had increased to two hundred and thirty pupils. A Normal Department and Normal Preparatory department had been added at this time. Courses designed to prepare students for college were offered, and they were advanced in the courses according to their capacity for acquisition, making actual attainment and not time the measure of progress. The Normal Department was designed to prepare students for teaching in the public schools of the South. Many of the advanced students received actual experience in teaching, for every classroom was a "small normal school," and members of the Normal Department taught classes in all the departments of the institution. President Hill's philosophy of preparing teachers was revealed by a statement in the bulletin of the institution in 1883. He said: "Believing that no Normal school can prepare teachers to do the scholar's work, our endeavor shall ever be to send out teachers who shall be true and faithful guides of the young in their preparation for life's great work in whatever sphere God, in His providence, may appoint for them."[258] The institution was not designed, however, for only advanced students, arriving with an advanced standing, but also for those who were restricted to a more limited education. Pupils were allowed to enter for a single term and take such classes as they were competent to join.

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[257] Report of the F. A. S., 1881, pp. 24-35.
[258] *Annual Catalogue*, 1883-84, pp. 11-12.

In 1884, a school of Industry was added to the institution in order to prepare the students for self-support. A building was purchased and furnished with machinery and tools for the purpose of teaching carpentry, shoe-making, and ironworking. Students were not only able to learn a trade, but an opportunity was provided to earn money to meet their expenses at the local school.[259] Two years later, a course for local preachers in the Methodist Episcopal Church was added to the curriculum. No attempt was made to teach a full course in Theology, but to meet the wants of local preachers who could only take a partial course before entering the Conference.[260]

In 1888, the name of the institutuion was changed to Morristown Normal Academy. During the year 1889 the school property occupied for a number of years was sold, and twenty-three acres in the western part of the city was purchased.

By 1890, the enrollment at Morristown Normal Academy had reached over three hundred students. As with other schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society, the physical plant of the institution was inadequate to comfortably house all the students who enrolled. The building which had been occupied by the students since the establishment of the school was reported to be in a frightful condition in 1891. The foundation of a new building had been erected, but as previously mentioned, its superstructure was not finished until 1900. Concerning the housing conditions in 1891, President Hill wrote to the Freedmen's Aid Society and particularly described the condition of the old buildings then occupied. He said:

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[259] Ibid., 1884-85, p. 13.
[260] Ibid., 1887-88, p. 11.

> During the year it is packed to its utmost capacity. In one room, thirty by forty feet, five, and often six classes are reciting at one and the same time, and every desk occupied by three students. When the students cross the floor, the whole building shakes; and during some severe storms, teachers and students have feared to remain in the building. The sash are so poor that they will not hold the glass, the roof leaks like a sieve, and the whole building is in a dilapidated condition. The present dormitory is entirely too small for the number of students crowded into it. For the last two years we have been compelled to put three students in each bed, and to place cots in the halls. Even then it was difficult for us to satisfy applicants that we were crowded, and could not accommodate them.[261]

Many of the Negro students who came to Morristown Normal Academy were extremely poor and in need of assistance. Through the generosity of President Hill many students were given assistance, although the school had no appropriations for such relief. The following account of a poor student written by a teacher at the school in the 1890's illustrates the conditions among the students in many of the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society:

> About two months ago there came a young man to our school, asking admittance. He had rented a very poor cabin just outside of our gate, for which he paid five dollars in advance; then he bought books, for which he paid seven dollars; then he must fit up some kind of a place for sleeping, and furnish a skillet for cooking; wood for the old fireplace was also called for, and last, but surely not least, the boy must have something for food, and for this necessity he provided himself with some corn-meal and one-half of

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[261] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1891, p. 225.

> a pig's jaw, or jowl, I think it is called. At the end of two months he came to Mr. Hill, saying, 'I don't know what in the world to do; I have no money and fear I must leave school unless you can help me out.' 'How much will you need?' asked Mr. Hill. 'Well, sir, I think four dollars will take me through three months,' was the reply. And then, by asking questions, Mr. Hill found that he had sixteen dollars when he came here, and that during the sixty days of his stay he had nothing to eat but the meal and the jowl and cold water. Once he came to the matron for a little oil, for his lamp had failed him at midnight, and he must study his lessons 'to-night' for tomorrow, adding, 'I can't buy just now.' You can well understand that Mr. Hill's large heart would not let such a boy go.[262]

Although the school offered board, tuition, room incidental fee, fuel and light for fifty dollars per year, many of the Negro students were unable to afford the advantages of an education so reasonably offered.[263]

In 1889, the academic standards of the Morristown school were raised, and as a consequence no class was graduated in that year. The Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church relieved the deplorable housing conditions at the school by erecting a "Model Home" for women students in the same year. The curriculum was enlarged through the reorganization of 1889 adding a commercial course and a department of music.[264]

Toward the end of the century the name of the college was changed once more to correspond with its program of work, and it became the Morristown Normal College. At this time the faculty of the school had been enlarged and was composed of fourteen members, with additional tutors from the student body. In 1900 the student body numbered 351, the greater proportion of whom were in the elementary branches of study. The resourceful president, Dr. Hill, conducted the school at this period of its development on an allowance of $2,500 from the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society. The teachers were paid from $160 to $300 per year. All money used by the school above the amount appropriated by the Society had to be raised by the president.[265] So successful was he in raising money for the institution that in 1900 the physical plant of the school was worth more than $75,000.

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[262] The Christian Educator (July, 1890), p. 160.
[263] Annual Catalogue, 1894-95.
[264] Annual Catalogue, 1891-92.

In 1936, more than twelve thousand students had been trained at the Morristown school. Of the graduates more than fifty per cent had gone out to teach in the Negro schools of the South, thereby multiplying its influence many times. Forty-five per cent of the graduating classes took up the occupations of farming, business, and home-making; three per cent had gone into the Christian ministry; and one per cent each into the medical and musical porfessions. The campus of one acre in 1881 has been increased to seventy-five, and the slave mart in which the school began has since been replaced by nine modern buildings for teaching purposes, and three homes for the administrative staff and teachers. At the present time, the Morristown Normal and Industrial College is one of the two Negro junior colleges related to the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is now under the supervision of President J. W. Haywood.

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[265] The Christian Educator (August-September, 1899), p. 147.

Alexandria Academy.

This school, established by the Freedmen's Aid Society at Alexandria, Louisiana, in 1889, was discontinued by the same agency in 1903. From the records on the Negro schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it appears that no buildings were ever erected for the use of the school. Taught by the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Alexandria, the school had enrolled over a thousand students in 1898. Fifty nine students were prepared at Alexandria Academy for entrance to the New Orleans University, and many had been trained in the Negro public schools of Louisiana.

George R. Smith College.

The founding of George R. Smith College at Sedalia, Missouri, in 1894, was the result of a combination of interesting circumstances. In 1888, the two daughters of General George R. Smith, donated a tract of land within the corporate limits of Sedalia, for the establishment of an institution of learning for the education of colored people. The one condition imposed was that a $25,000 building should be erected by January 1, 1892. Subsequently the time was extended to January, 1894.

Although General Smith had nothing to do with the establishment of the school, his interest in the colored people prompted the gift of his daughters. General Smith was a Virginian by birth, grew to manhood in Kentucky, and in 1833 settled with his family in Missouri. He was the son of a Baptist clergyman; but in later years, became an active and influential member of the Christian Church. He was a slaveholder by inheritance, but did not uphold the institution. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he opposed Rebellion, making speeches in various parts of Missouri in behalf of the Federal Government. He took an important part in the reconstruction of Missouri, becoming a state senator and later held several important Federal offices.[266]

General Smith's plans for the Freedmen were philanthropic and practical. He felt that, first of all, they must have homes of their own. He sold them many home sites in Sedalia on easy and long terms. Next, General Smith planned an educational program for the Freedmen; and so besides the public school, he proposed to devote some of his holdings in the city to a school of higher grade; but he died before the scheme was consummated.[267]

The Freedmen's Aid Society had difficulty in raising the $25,000 for construction of the building. After accepting the proposition of Mesdames Smith and Cotton, the Society expended $10,000 in laying the foundations, and carried them up to the first story, then the money failed. It was necessary to leave the building unfinished for two or three years, until, according to Dr. J. W. Hamilton, "the patience of the people of Sedalia was nearly worn out, and the good ladies, not being Methodists, questioned the good faith of the Society."[268] When the Society was tardy in fulfilling its terms of the proposition, the ladies threatened to retract their offer, In 1893, the Society announced that money must be raised for the completion of the building, or the Church would lose the property.[269] The corner-stone of the college building was laid on June 1, 1893, and the formal dedication of the George R. Smith College followed. The Sedalia _Gazette_, in commenting upon the laying of the corner-stone, declared:

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[266] The Christian Educator (April, 1891), pp. 94-95.
[267] Ibid., p. 95.

> It is the acceptance of the new and broader Christianity. Christianity in its spirit and essence is larger than any Church that ever yet stood for it; and that which the Church of the old Missouri would not accept or believe possible, it is now compelled to accept by the spirit of the new era, so that now even the secular press is commending the course of education for the colored people, and is urging the communities of the Southern States to stand by the rights and open the door of privileges and opportunity to the Negro race.[270]

The Reverend P. A. Cool was appointed president of the new institution by the Freedmen's Aid Society, and plans were made to give the colored people a large place in the selection of a faculty.[271]

When the school was opened in 1894 it had the honor of being the first college built under Christian patronage of any denomination in the state of Missouri for colored people.[272] Fifty-seven students enrolled the first year of its operation. The first commencement was held in the first week of May, 1897, and closed the most prosperous year in the three year's history of the institution. The first graduating class numbered nine, six of whom were women. Six graduates completed the three year's Normal Course, two the Scientific College Preparatory, and one the Classical College Preparatory Course. The total enrollment of the college for that year was 156 students, two-thirds of whom were non-residents.[273]

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[268] Hamilton to C. C. Corbin, September 25, 1893. _Hamilton Papers._
[269] _The Christian Educator_ (April, 1893), pp. 111-112.
[270] _Ibid._, (July, 1893), p. 158.
[271] Hertzell to Rev. J. W. Jackson, July 3, 1893. _Hartzell Papers._
[272] Hamilton to Mrs. S. L. Wellington, May 4, 1894. _Hamilton Papers._

In the early 1920's more than two thousand students had profited by its instruction, but a disastrous fire in 1925 ended the usefulness of the institution. Following this disaster, the interests of the George R. Smith College were merged with the Philander Smith College at Little Rock, Arkansas.

Key West Academy.

Plans for the establishment of the Negro school in Key West, Florida, began in 1889, when Methodist leaders of the Boylan Home for Girls in Jacksonville learned that few opportunities were offered in the former city for the education of Negro children. Competition from the Roman Catholic Church for the patronage of the Negroes of Key West was another factor which led the Methodists to contemplate the establishment of a school. The Methodist pastor at Key West, the Reverend S. A. Huger wrote to the officers of the Freedmen's Aid Society and Woman's Home Missionary Society stating the need of "Christian industrial education" among the blacks of that section. Nothing was done however, until the summer of 1895, when Mr. Huger, then a presiding elder, secured the services of Mrs. S. A. Daley who had been associated with the work among Negro girls in the South, and assisted her in establishing a school in December, 1895. Mrs. Daley opened the school in the basement of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Key West, and unaided taught classes in the mornings, sewing in the afternoons and conducted a night school for colored adults in the evenings. In a short time she had collected forty students for the new school. A tuition fee of ten cents per week was charged for the work in the lower grades, and upon this income Mrs. Daley lived for more than two years.[274]

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[273] The Christian Educator (August-September, 1897), pp. 139-140.

Stricken with fever in the summer of 1897, Mrs. Daley was advised to leave Key West, but she remained at her post. The colored people were unable to raise funds for the school. Small-pox broke out in the city, and spread to the block where this educational pioneer had rented two small rooms. Southern people offered her lodging in their homes, but she refused, stating that she could not take her pleasure where she could not take her work.

In October, 1897, Mrs. Daley re-opened the school at Key West, and seventy-five pupils were enrolled, fifteen of whom met in one of her private rooms for evening instruction.[275]

At the earnest solicitation of the citizens of Key West, Dr. J. W. Hamilton of the Freedmen's Aid Society visited the island city in the early part of 1899. A committee, representing the Negro race in the city, presented to Dr. Hamilton a petition signed by four clergymen and one hundred and forty-four citizens asking that the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society take steps toward the establishment of a Christian high school, with an industrial department for the instruction of the colored youth of both sexes of the city.[276]

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[274] The Christian Educator (December-January, 1897-98), pp. 4-5.
[275] Ibid., p. 6.

The school at Key West was listed as one of the schools under the care of the Society in 1899 and 1900; the report for the latter year showing a faculty of two teachers and one hundred and eighty students in attendance.[277] After the beginning of the Twentieth Century the school was discontinued.

Besides the many common schools established in the years immediately following the Civil War, many of which were abandoned when the Southern states made provisions for Negro public education, the Freedmen's Aid Society had established and maintained the following institutions for Negroes at the close of the century:

Theological.

Gammon Theological Seminary*, Atlanta, Georgia.

Collegiate.

Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina.
Claflin University, Orangeburg, South Carolina.
Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia.
George R. Smith College, Sedalia, Missouri.
Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland.

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[276] The Christian Educator (February-March, 1899), pp. 69-70.
[277] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1900, p. 9.
* The Theological and Medical Schools will be treated in the following chapter, under the title of professional education.

New Orleans University, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Arkansas.
Rust University, Holly Springs, Mississippi.
Walden University, Nashville, Tennessee.
Wiley University, Marshall, Texas.

Academic.

Alexandria Academy, Alexandria, Louisiana.
Central Alabama Academy, Huntsville, Alabama.
Cookman Academy, Jacksonville, Florida.
Delaware Academy, Princess Anne, Maryland.
Gilbert Academy, Baldwin, Louisiana.
Haven Academy, Waynesboro, Georgia.
Key West Academy, Key West, Florida.
LaGrange Academy, LaGrange, Georgia.
Meridian Academy, Meridian, Mississippi.
Morristown Academy, Morristown, Tennessee.
Samuel Huston College, Austin, Texas.
Virginia Collegiate and Industrial Institute, Lynchburg, Virginia.
West Tennessee Academy, Mason, Tennessee.

Medical.

Meharry Medical School*, Walden University, Nashville, Tennessee.
New Orleans Medical and Nurse Training School*, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Since 1900, the Methodist Episcopal Church has consolidated some of its Negro schools, and discontinued those which seemed to offer little prospect for continued growth and service. From the following list of the schools maintained by the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the present time, it will be observed that the trend of its policy has been directed from the maintaining of elementary and secondary schools, and toward the professional and higher branches of learning. The gradual evolution of the ordinary

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* The Theological and Medical Schools will be treated in the following chapter, under the title of professional education.

Freedmen's schools in the 1860's has resulted in the following institutions:

Professional Schools.

Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia.
Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee.
Flint-Goodridge Hospital of Dillard University,
New Orleans, Louisiana.

Standard Four-Year Colleges.

Bennett College (sponsored jointly by the Board of Education and the Woman's Home Missionary Society).
Greensboro, North Carolina.
Claflin College, Orangeburg, South Carolina.
Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia.
Dillard University (a joint enterprise of the Methodist Board of Education and the Congregational Church)
New Orleans, Louisiana.
Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland.
Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Arkansas.
Rust College, Holly Springs, Mississippi.
Samuel Huston College, Austin, Texas.
Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

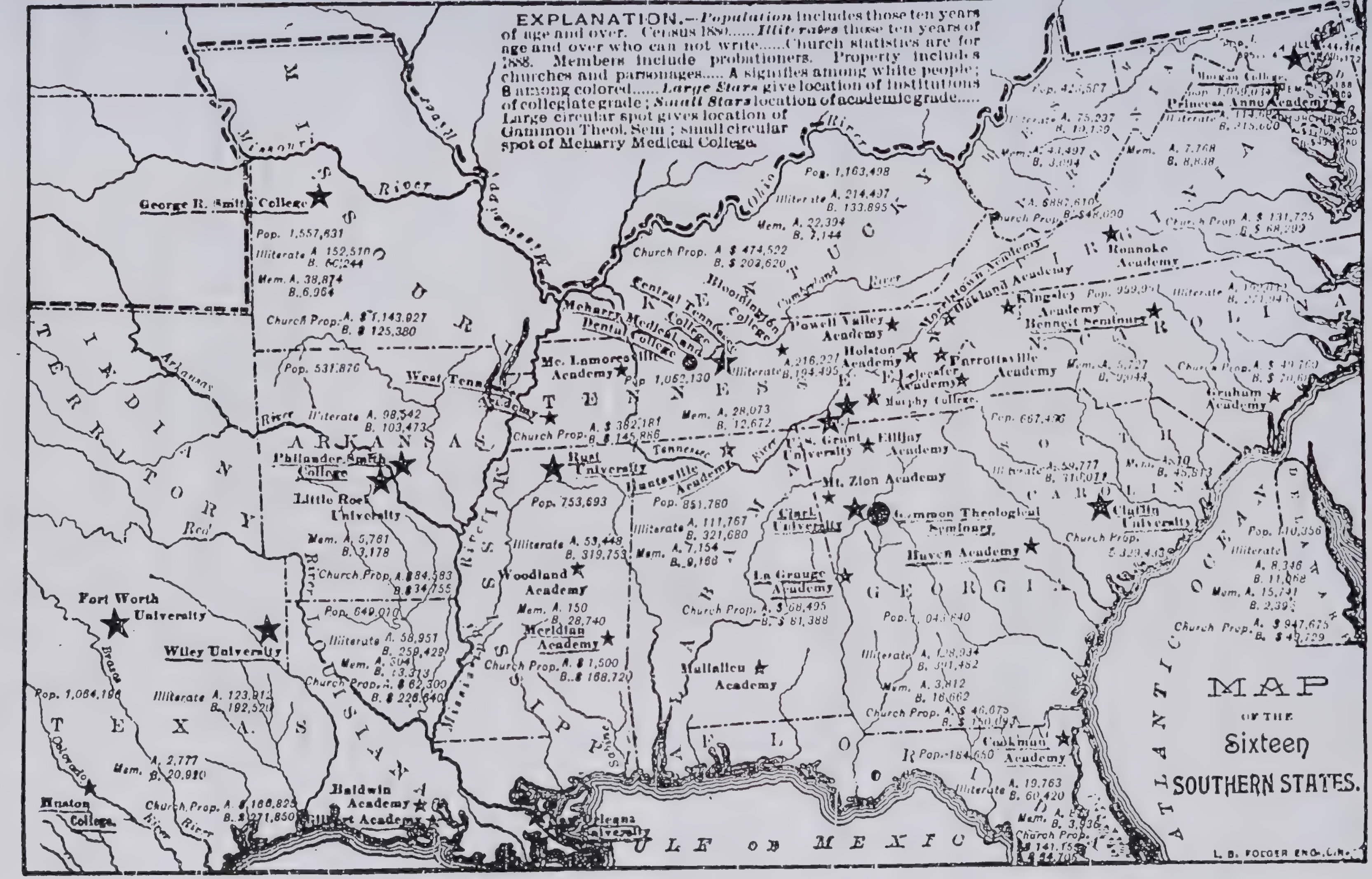
Junior Colleges.

Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida.
Morristown Normal and Industrial College,
Morristown, Tennessee.

Secondary School.

Gilbert Academy (sponsored jointly by the Board of Education and the Woman's Home Missionary Society)
New Orleans, Louisiana.

STARS IN OUR SOUTHERN FIRMAMENT.

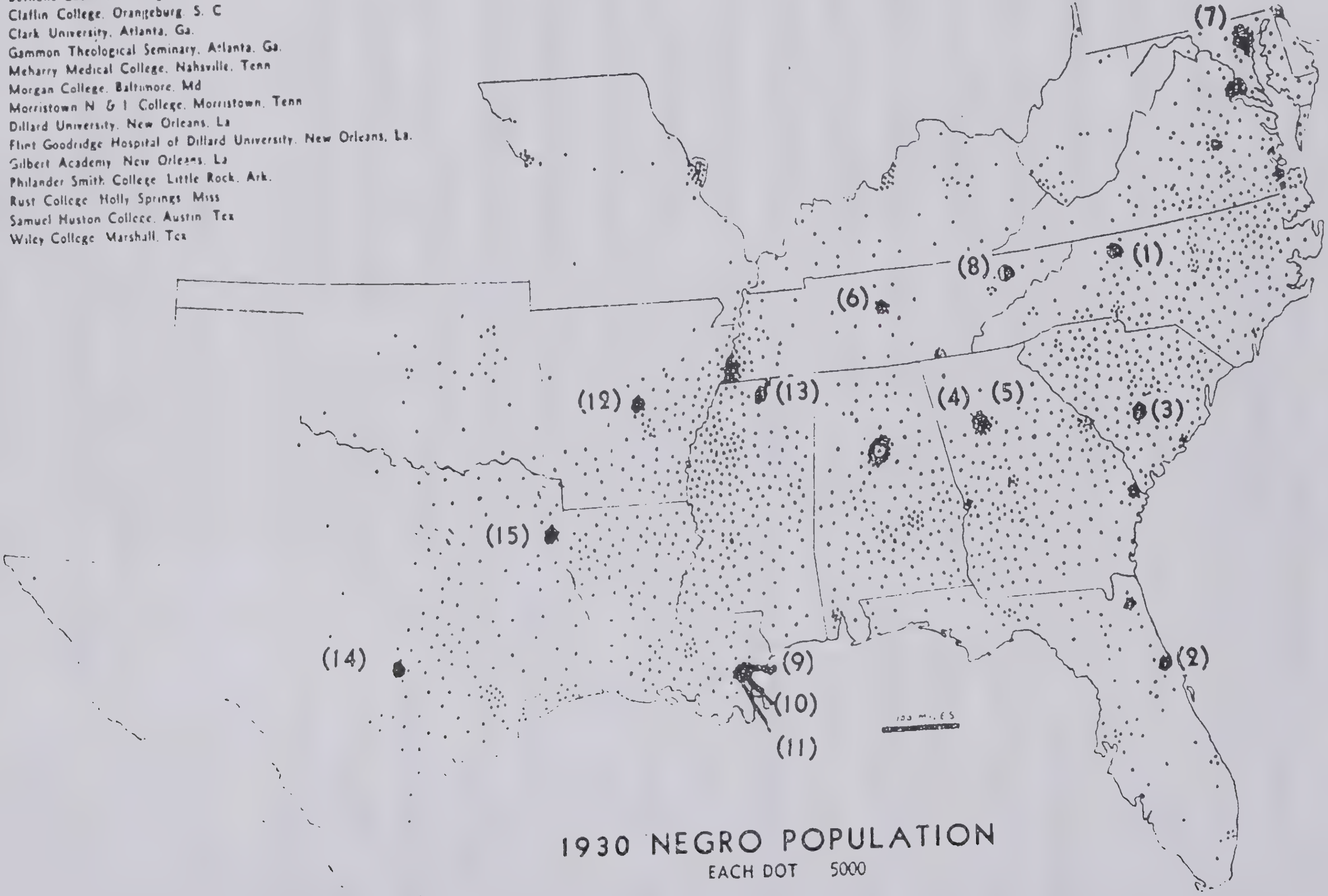


EXPLANATION.—*Population* includes those ten years of age and over. Census 1880......*Illiterates* those ten years of age and over who can not write......Church statistics are for 1888. Members include probationers. Property includes churches and parsonages..... A signifies among white people; B among colored......*Large Stars* give location of institutions of collegiate grade; *Small Stars* location of academic grade..... Large circular spot gives location of Gammon Theol. Sem ; small circular spot of Meharry Medical College.

Map Showing Negro Institutions
under the auspices of the
Methodist Episcopal Church 1892
(Underlined in Red.)

Schools for Negroes Related to the Board of Education Methodist Episcopal Church - 19[illegible]

1 Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.
2. Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla
3 Claflin College, Orangeburg, S. C
4 Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.
5 Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.
6. Meharry Medical College, Nahsville, Tenn
7 Morgan College, Baltimore, Md
8 Morristown N & I College, Morristown, Tenn
9 Dillard University, New Orleans, La
10 Flint Goodridge Hospital of Dillard University, New Orleans, La.
11 Gilbert Academy New Orleans, La
12 Philander Smith College Little Rock, Ark.
13 Rust College Holly Springs Miss
14 Samuel Huston College, Austin Tex
15 Wiley College Marshall, Tex



1930 NEGRO POPULATION
EACH DOT 5000

Chapter V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROFESSIONAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AMONG THE SOUTHERN NEGROES BY THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

It was the early purpose of the Freedmen's Aid Society to develop leaders of the Freedmen from among the people of their own race, and the real significance of the Methodist educational movement was the policy adopted by the Society to establish institutions for the purpose of training the Negroes for this responsibility.

Prior to the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society, leaders of the movement for the elevation of the Negro race realized the necessity for such a policy. The experience of Dr. John M. Walden in the work of the undenominational Freedmen's commissions during the Civil War, led him to the conviction that Negroes must be trained to teach their own people. In 1863, the Reverend L. D. Barrows of the Methodist Episcopal Church began a movement for the training of Negro teachers. In a communication to the Christian Advocate and Journal, Dr. Barrows describes his efforts in the following words:

> I cannot tell the friends of the late bondmen how urgent I regard the call just now on this question of education. Soon there doubtless will be millions of these on our hands. How shall we prepare for

> them? It will require a century to reach them all by northern teachers. *We must just as rapidly as possible have in training hundreds of colored teachers.* This I am now arranging to inaugurate, and General Saxton has promised me his most efficient aid. Thus we hope soon to put the colored people in a way to *elevate themselves*; and with some white teachers to *superintend*, let the colored ones pioneer and do most of the work. God favoring, it will soon be done.[1]

Thus it will be seen that the missionaries of the Methodist Church, and other Churches for that matter, were early in the field to do more than merely gather the Negroes into the fold of their Church, as some critics of the denominational effort have claimed.

At the organization of the Methodist Freedmen's Society in 1866, steps were taken to establish institutions for the training of teachers. Owing to the lack of sufficient funds for this purpose, normal schools were not immediately established by the Freedmen's Aid Society but the Executive Committee stated that "the interests of the freedmen, of the nation, and of the Methodist Episcopal Church imperatively demand the early establishment of permanent Training Schools."[2] It resolved to establish schools of high grade for the training of teachers, and in 1867 three institutions were opened under the auspices of the Society; one at Nashville, Tennessee, under the supervision of the Reverend John Braden; another at Huntsville, Alabama, under the care of Miss M. Hindman; and the third at Camden, South Carolina, under the management of Mrs. Sarah Babcock. The most advanced pupils were sent out the same year to teach in the common schools of the South, and were reported to be "successfully engaged in the education of children."[3] In the first report of the Freedmen's Aid Society, the policy of that agency was stated in regard to self-help by the Negroes. The Society declared that teachers for the Negroes "must eventually be furnished by their own race," and added that it must aid them "in establishing good schools for the training of teachers and preachers, and then as soon as possible deliver these institutions over to them for a permanent support."[4]

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[1] *Christian Advocate and Journal*, November 12, 1863.

[2] Report of the *F. A. S.*, 1868, p. 16.

According to various reports in the Church periodicals, it appears that the Negroes immediately seized the opportunity to assist themselves and their race in matters of education. Mrs. Sarah Babcock reported in 1868 that one enterprising pupil in Scuth Carolina had made the transition from student to teacher in a surprisingly short timo. She stated that "a pupil to whom Brother Miner gave instruction during the evenings of less than one month advanced durint that time from the primer to become a tolerable reader, a good penman, and went through the fundamental rules of arithmetic. At the close of the month he was missing, and we hear from him as a teacher in North Carolina."[5] Many of the early Negro teachers in the common schools were no better trained than this truant pupil.

Believing that the Society "could exert in no other way a more extensive and enduring influence," three more normal schools were established in 1869, thereby bringing a total of six such schools under the supervision of the Methodists. By the end of 1869, the

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[3] Ibid., p. 15-16.
[4] Ibid.
[5] The Christian Advocate, April 9, 1868.

Methodist educators of the Negro were thoroughly committed to this phase of their program in the South. Realizing the influences which education would bring to bear on the Negro, the report of the Society in 1869 declared that "whoever furnishes the educators of a people, controls the current of thought, and molds future generations; and Methodism owes it to herself, to humanity, and to God, to take an active part in the elevation of four millions of freedmen, and in the reconstruction of the South upon the broad principles of religious freedom."[6] The Methodist plan of participating in this benevolent movement was realized by selecting the most promising students from the common schools under Methodist supervision and placing them in the Normal Schools, where they were prepared as rapidly as possible for educational service.

As has been previously stated, the first attempts of the Freedmen's Aid Society, and similar organizations in the North, were directed toward the provision of the elementary branches of learning for the Southern Negro. But it was soon realized among the benevolent organizations that the provision of common education for great numbers of Freedmen was too great a task for their limited means. In addition to this factor, the Freedmen's Bureau assumed much of the responsibility for common education during the five years of its existence. Moreover, the Southern states began to gradually assume their responsibility in the provision of elementary education to the masses. These factors caused the gradual elimination of such schools by the Freedmen's Aid Society, except as they were continued as departments in the various schools under its control. Some of the reasons for Normal education and a turning to higher branches of instruction is given in the following statement from the report of 1871:

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[6] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, p. 7.

> The work which now demands our special attention is the support of our colleges and normal schools. Through these we can reach the common schools and exert over them a controlling influence. Whoever educates the teachers gives tone to the thought and sentiment of the present age, and determines the character of the future. In elevating any race help must come from its own ranks; all permanent prosperity among the freedmen must be connected with those possessing an identity of interest and destiny. No others can so successfully get access to their hearts, sympathize in their trials, share in their burdens, and awaken them to high purpose and noble deeds. We must select from our schools youth of good common sense, promising in intellect and piety, and train them as leaders and educators. The great want in the prosecution of this enterprise, is well-educated Christian workers, and it is too costly to educate these abroad; they must be prepared at home. There is no lack of promising youth, who desire to consecrate themselves to this work, but they have not the means to defray their expense, and must remain in ignorance unless encouraged and assisted in their studies. Tuition and books in our higher institutions should be furnished gratuitously, while the students, by their own exertions, board and clothe themselves. We repeat it, these normal schools must fling wide open their doors and welcome to their privileges all worthy applicants desiring to educate themselves and bless their race, and these institutions must be sustained until the colored people can assume this responsible work for themselves. In no other way can we more successfully diffuse a quickening and elevating influence through the common schools, or at less expenditure, than by supporting the normal school, whose influence extends to the remotest hamlet of the state. These colleges are located in central parts of the South, easy of access, and, to the extent of our accommodations, free to all. And if properly aided by us, they will do for the South

> what our literary institutions have done for Methodism in the East and West.[7]

The Methodists planned to establish a Normal School in each of its Southern Conferences. By 1873, something approaching a Normal school was in operation in most of these Conferences, but according to Dr. Daniel Curry, more were needed, and more adequate support for those already in existence.[8] Many of these so-called Normal Schools were in actuality little more than graded schools offering elementary branches of study, with some instruction in the principles of teaching, but when it is realized that there was little need for training in subjects other than the elements of Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, these schools served as a temporary measure in the process of training Negro teachers. When the state of Tennessee made provisions for Negro common education under its reconstruction government, there were "hundreds of young men and women in the schools sustained by the Churches ready to go throughout the country and teach the children of their fellow-freedmen."[9] After six years of normal training at Central Tennessee College, the institution had sent out over one hundred of its former students to teach in the primary schools of Tennessee.[10] In 1873, of the three thousand pupils in the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society, more than one thousand were "preparing to assist in the elevation of their race, by teaching school or by preaching the gospel."[11] Of this number, the great majority were preparing to teach. Although much had been done in the first few years of the existence of the Society toward the education of the race, the Mississippi Conference announced that "the great work of educating them is but just commencing." Moreover, the Committee on the Freedmen's Aid Society at this Conference declared that "the lifting from ignorance of four millions of people, to whom, until within a few years, even the Spelling-Book was denied, is no ordinary task. A school here and there," the Committee asserted, "must not be expected in five short years to accomplish the work that must be done in their behalf. For every teacher in the field five more should be immediately furnished."[12]

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[7] Report of the F. A. S., 1871, pp. 7-8.
[8] Report of the F. A. S., 1873, p. 10.
[9] *Western Christian Advocate*, April 5, 1876.
[10] Statement of President Braden in the *Western Christian Advocate*, August 21, 1872.

Throughout the period 1866-1900, the Freedmen's Aid Society stressed the necessity for developing Christian character in the teachers preparing for the work of elevating the Freedmen. Not content with the mere preparation of students in the principles of the educational theory of that time, the Methodists attempted to ground the young teacher in Christian principles. Soon after the establishment of the Freedmen's Aid Society, this important distinction between teachers and Christian teachers as related to Methodist efforts among the Negroes was voiced by the leaders of the movement. In 1869, the report of the Society declared that it was the testimony of all familiar with the movement, that "the great want of the hour is a supply of thoroughly educated Christian teachers; educated in heart as well as in head, in morality as well as in science." Moreover, the report stated that "religion must be inwrought into the very fabric of the soul (of the teacher), and not merely impressed upon the surface, and this must be done in the process of their education, and not postponed until the work is completed."[13] The Methodist educators were of the opinion that the elevation of the Negro race depended in large part upon the Christian teacher, for if "exalted character and attainment are imperatively demanded anywhere, it is in a teacher of youth."[14] "It is as truly an outrage upon the interests of society," announced the report, "to permit an immoral person to instruct the school, as it is to allow the knave to occupy the pulpit."[15] In stating the philosophy of the Freedmen's Aid Society in regard to training of teachers and the kind of teacher required for the elevation of the Negro, its Board of Managers stated in 1874:

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[11] Report of the F. A. S., 1873, p. 14.
[12] Western Christian Advocate, March 23, 1870.

> The Christian teacher is requisite for the inculcation of religious principle, from the consideration that the teacher's character is so vividly impressed upon the minds of his pupils. Material objects do not reflect the moral characteristics of the artist, however beautiful or heroic the aspect which they assume. But it is far otherwise with the material on which the teacher works. The impressible nature of youth, like the skillfully prepared plate of the daguerreotype, receives the reflected image of the teacher. The opening intellect welcomes to its expanding capacities the truth-telling features, the out-gushing emotions, and the passionate utterances of the teacher. It craves impressions as the parched lips the cool draughts of the bubbling foutain. No one can arouse youth to a noble purpose, and win them to a

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[13] Report of the F. A. S., 1869, p. 8.
[14] Ibid., 1874, p. 22.
[15] Ibid.

> spotless life, unless he possesses, in an eminent degree, the Christian spirit. He should, like a guardian angel, delight to suggest elevating thoughts, awaken generous emotions, warn of threatening danger, 'allure to brighter worlds, and lead the way.' The teacher educates his pupils scarcely less with his heart than with his intellect. He makes deeper impressions by what he is than by what he says.[16]

Holding that the purpose of the teacher should be to "co-operate with the Creator and the parent in the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, and moral nature of the child," the Normal schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society trained their future teachers to "make good citizens as well as bright scholars." and educate Negro children in "morals as well as mathematics."[17]

The theory of the Freedmen's Aid Society that the Christian teacher was an instrumentality scarcely less important in the elevation of the Negroes than the minister, led it to establish Normal departments in all the schools under its control by the year 1877. So great was the demand for teachers in the South that the students made little preparation for their work in this profession. Many of them remained in school long enough to learn the basic principles of reading, writing, and arithmetic, then departed to positions awaiting them in the public schools. When the students taught the children all they knew, they "returned to their instructors for a fresh supply."[18] In 1877, there were in the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society, one thousand and sixty-five pupils preparing to teach, and it was estimated that more than one hundred thousand children had been taught by those trained in the Methodist schools.[19] In addition to sending teachers to the public schools of the South, the Freedmen's Aid Society prepared teachers for their own institutions, and employed them as assistants as rapidly as they could be trained.[20]

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[16] Report of the F. A. S., 1874, p. 23.
[17] Ibid., 1882, p. 30.
[18] Ibid., 1877, pp. 6-7.

It is not to be inferred that the Methodist educators looked with approval upon the rapid and often careless preparation of the students who left their schools to teach. The demand for Negro teachers was greater than the supply of adequately trained candidates. When a struggling student had the opportunity to leave an educational institution for a position in the public schools, the Methodist teachers could do little to prevent it. President Braden of Central Tennessee College stated that one of these colored teachers wrote to a friend in Nashville in 1872 and said: "I Have Ben Examoun And Got a Cifficut to Tech Scull." "Yet, from sheer necessity," wrote Dr. Braden, "such teachers have to be employed. They can read and write, and teach all they know, and, perhaps, some things they do not know. To remedy this evil as rapidly as possible is the aim of this and other schools under the patronage of the Freedmen's Aid Society."[21] A young Negro student at Gilbert Academy in Louisiana remarked to Dr. W. D. Godman: "When I came here at the beginning of last year I knew nothing but to read and write. I went through the

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[19] Ibid., p. 7.
[20] Report of the F. A. S., 1878, p. 19.
[21] Letter of Dr. Braden to the *Western Christian Advocate*, August 21, 1872.

'Graded Lessons in English' and the 'Intermediate Arithmetic,' and so on; and this year I have taught school for four months at thirty dollars a month."[22] A teacher at Rust Normal School in 1878 declared that in order to meet the demand for colored teachers, "our advanced pupils are constantly obliged to leave their own studies and enter upon the work of teaching. Long before they have completed the ordinary English course applications come in for their services, and as they are very poor, nearly all leave school far too soon for their own good or for a showy name for their Alma Mater. A small portion return and remain from two to four months, between their own sessions, and so contrive to make small additions to their knowledge each year."[23]

According to the various reports from the South, most of the Negro common education in that section was carried on by colored teachers by 1880. The trained and partially trained colored students from the schools established by the Northern agencies were reported to have taken over this responsibility, and furthermore, many of the Negroes had advanced far enough to occupy responsible positions in the schools of higher learning.[24] Not all colored teachers had been trained in the schools founded by Northern money and taught by Northern men and women. The Southern state governments had put more money in training-schools for Negro youth than they have been given credit for; the Negroes had done much for themselves in the support of education; and the white Churches of the South had begun to assume some measure of responsibility by 1880.[25] However, as late as 1888, Dr. A. G. Haygood, as Agent of the Slater Fund, urged the Methodist Episcopal Church to continue its support of Negro Normal schools in the South. In an address before the annual meeting of the Freedmen's Aid Society in that year, Dr. Haygood stated:

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[22] Godman, op. cit., pp. 30-31.
[23] Letter of M. L. Raines to the Western Christian Advocate, July 10, 1878.
[24] Hartzell, J. C., Christian Educators in Council, p. 73.

> For the most part, the South will provide for the Negro's education in the future as in the past; for more and more the South will put public money in the common schools for both races, and common schools take millions where colleges require thousands. Upon the North rests, and ought to rest, for the most part, the burden of endowing the colleges that train the teachers whose salaries, when they go out among the people, the South will pay. Let the great North, rich after the war, and richer every year since, endow the colleges that train Negro youth to teach in the common schools for their people maintained by the South, made poor by the war, and, compared with the North, poor today.[26]

All of the schools maintained by the Freedmen's Aid Society offered elementary education as well as collegiate instruction. In many cases, the elementary departments were conducted in these schools as a matter of necessity, because no such schools existed in their vicinity which were supported by taxation. In some communities of the South, local school trustees or commissioners arranged with the authorities of the Freedmen's Aid Society to put the public school into the Church supported institution as its primary and common-school department. These departments became the practice schools for the Normal school students. This arrangement was in existence as late as the 1890's and even later.[27]

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[25] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1888, pp. 59-60.
[26] Ibid., p. 62.
[27] The Christian Educator (April-May, 1896), pp. 66-67.

The work of the Churches, both North and South and Southern state governments, had begun to manifest itself in the changed conditions among the Negro race at the close of the century. The Methodists had played an important part in the movement which resulted in the literacy of one-half of all the colored people in the United States by 1900, whereas, in 1865 only twelve per cent of them knew the alphabet. That the Methodists were not among the least in this movement is evidenced by the fact that in 1900, the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society had trained over sixteen thousand colored teachers, and sent them out to educate their race.

From the beginning of the educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church among the Negroes, the leaders of the movement emphasized the training of ministers. This endeavor was found to be necessary owing to the fact that the great numbers of illiterate Negro preachers were retarding the progress and growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South. The desire among all colored people at this time was for education, and the uneducated preacher rapidly lost his influence with his congregation.

The need of training among colored ministers was first revealed to the Methodist missionaries when the latter began the organization of annual conferences among the colored race. At the organization of the Mississippi Mission Conference in 1865, not a single Negro minister could be found to serve as secretary of the body. A few of them could read, but none could write. After visiting the Southern territory, the Reverend J. M. Buckley declared that "my heart has been pained, when attending the Conferences, to find them so poorly prepared for the great work intrusted to them. They have good natural abilities . . . but they are deficient in knowledge, even in the elements of an English education."[28] As the colored preachers were "untaught, except by the Spirit of God,"[29] the Methodists made plans at an early date to furnish teachers for their training.

The educational efforts of the Freedmen's Commissions during the Civil War had prepared great numbers of Negroes in the bare fundamentals of education, and according to Booker T. Washington, many entered the ministry soon after acquiring the ability to read. Few of them were fitted for the actual work of the ministry, and created problems for later educators who sought to give them adequate training. Prone to discredit "book larnin'," the black preachers cared little for theological education. In the following statement, Washington describes the Negro preacher of the South immediately following the war:

> In the earlier days of freedom almost every colored man who learned to read would receive 'a call to preach' within a few days after he began reading. At my home in West Virginia the process of being called to the ministry was a very interesting one. Usually the 'call' came when the individual was sitting in church. Without warning the one called would fall upon the floor as if struck by a bullet, and would lie there for hours, speechless and motionless. Then the news would spread all through the neighborhood that this individual had received a

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[28] Report of the F. A. S., 1873, pp. 5-6.

[29] Letter of Rev. L. D. Barrows to the Christian Advocate and Journal, November 12, 1863.

> 'call.' If he were inclined to resist the summons, he would fall or be made to fall a second or third time. In the end he always yielded to the call. While I wanted an education badly, I confess in my youth I had a fear that when I learned to read and write I would receive one of these 'calls'; but, for some reason, my call never came. When we add to the number of wholly ignorant men who preached or 'exhorted' to that of those who possessed something of an education, it can be seen at a glance that the supply of ministers was large. In fact, some time ago I knew a certain church that had a total membership of about two hundred, and eighteen of that number were ministers.[30]

Many of the Methodist missionaries who went into the South wrote to the Northern religious periodicals concerning the characteristics of Negro religion, and used them as arguments for the necessity of theological training for colored ministers. The Reverend W. N. Darnell, writing from Louisiana in 1866, was shocked at the "antics" of a colored congregation which he visited. After the Negro preacher had finished his sermon, Darnell stated that "a general singing, shaking hands and shouting followed; noise and confusion were weak terms. Many of our Northern people seeing such would begin to think of hospital accommodations, but there were no wounded, at least all walked away in a little while. I did see a man carrying away a good sized woman from the Baptist Church one day. When they have a lively sermon there, it takes half the women to hold the rest while they shout, and several men to carry away such as have the power."[31]

The Negro preachers, who had been officiating prior to the war, resisted the attempts of the Northern educators to raise the standards of preaching among them. Many were suspicious of the educated colored preacher believed that the teaching of the "Spirrit" was superior to knowledge gained from books. On a visit to Nashville in 1867, Dr. A. W. Cummings stated that the following specimen of preaching was quite commonly heard from the lips of the colored preachers of that vicinity:

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[30] Washington, B. T., Up From Slavery, pp. 81-83.
[31] Letter of Rev. W. N. Darnell to the Northwestern Christian Advocate, November 7, 1866.

> My brethering, I ha'n't got no book larnin', book 'ligion. I has de ole cornfield 'ligion, and you'll find de tex' somewhar' in de lids ob de Bible, and it am dis: 'Let me die de death ob de righteous man, and let my last end be like hisen.'[32]

This boast of the superiority of the "cornfield 'ligion" was to propitiate the large part of his hearers, who were as ignorant as himself. According to a correspondent writing to the Western Christian Advocate in 1871, a debate was held at the meeting for the organization of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church the year before, during which several of the colored preachers opposed a resolution requiring a minister of that body to have evidence of a satisfactory knowledge of the English branches of learning. One colored preacher made a protest to the resolution in the following words:

> Sirs and Brutherin - I have sot under the various speechifyings on this occasion, until it seems really I must let you all have a piece of my mind. Take care what you are agwine to do--take care--I tell you. It

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[32] Cummings, op. cit., p. 397.

> aint for us, brutherin, to measure out a man by a book, and say who God shall call, and who he shaint. No sir, never. T-A-K-E -- C-A-R-E! My father, sir, didn't know A from B, and yet by his preaching hundreds--yes thousands--was converted . . . And will you, brutherin, stop the mouths of all sich? T-A-K-E -- C-A-R-E! The Sperit teach a man, and he can tell a poor sinner how to repent and pint out the road to heaven, don't mind ef he can't read. These is facts. Meet 'em ef you can.[33]

The literature dealing with Methodist education of Negroes from 1866 to 1900 frequently mentioned the great need of educated preachers among the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South.[34] Those in the Methodist Episcopal Church who objected to the Southern educational program pointed out that after some years in the work the piety of the Negroes had not increased. The Freedmen's Aid Society admitted the defective piety of the Freedmen, but argued that "their piety must, in the very nature of the case, be affected by their ignorance and degradation." "When the Bible was prohibited from the slaves by fearful penalties," the Society stated in its report of 1875, "then we have reason to believe that Jehovah deigned to hold communion with this unfortunate people by his blessed Spirit; He enlightened their minds, guided their lives, and comforted their souls in the night of suffering and sorrow. But the times of that ignorance over which the slaves had no control, God winked at, but now commandeth all men every-where to repent of sin, read his Word, and believe on his Son."[35] For the solution of this defective piety, the Freedmen's Aid Society stated that "instruction from illiterate ministers, who can scarcely read the Bible themselves, may do something for this people, but it can not secure the highest type of Christian character." The fact that the Negroes' religion was an emotional one did not cause the Society to condemn it. Rather than substitute "cold formality, and an intellectual appreciation of the truth, for an enthusiastic religious experience and a warm heart," the Society attempted to preserve the emotional content of Negroes' religious experience in the educational process. In the belief that education would correct such breaches of moral conduct as the violation of the Seventh Commandment,[36] the Methodist educators in the South began an intensive program of ministerial education.

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[33] Quoted by Anderson Jackson in the Western Christian Advocate, January 18, 1871.

[34] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, p. 40; Ibid., 1879, p. 27; Godman, op. cit., p. 93; The Christian Educator (October, 1889), p. 34; Ibid., (April, 1890), pp. 120, 161; Ibid., (October, 1891), p. 307.

[35] Report of the F. A. S., 1875, p. 10.

Although the colored people of the South proferred white teachers in the period immediately following the Civil War, they showed a preference for preachers of their own color.[37] In keeping with this desire the Methodists, who according to Bishop Warren, had no desire for a Southern Church officered by Northern men,[38] selected the most promising of the young Negro students and aided them in preparing for the Christian ministry.

A considerable number of the institutions established by the Freedmen's Aid Society were called "Biblical Institutes" in the first few years of their existence. Baker Theological Institute, founded in 1866, opened its doors to Negro students who intended to devote themselves to the ministry. Tuition was granted without cost, and financial aid furnished to those who were in dire need. While the students were learning the fundamentals of the English branches, the Reverends T. W. Lewis and Alonzo Webster instructed them in church polity and theology.[39] At the close of the second term at Baker Theological Institute, the class in theology was examined by Professor Webster, and "the prompt and ready answers elicited by the trying ordeal gave abundant proof of the rapid improvement the students had made in that department. They convinced not only the trustees, but also the large and appreciative audience, of their capability and aptness to learn."[40] When Claflin University was organized in 1869, the Baker Theological School became the theological department in the former school.

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[36] Ibid., 1877, p. 28.
[37] Western Christian Advocate, September 1, 1875.
[38] Report of the F. A. S., 1880, p. 57.

At the "contraband school" established by the Methodists in Nashville in 1865, Dr. Seys endeavored to impart some knowledge of the doctrines of the Bible, and of the Discipline of the Church while other teachers taught the spelling-book, primer, and easy readers. When the school was chartered as the Central Tennessee College in the following year, Negro preachers had already been instructed in theological studies.

New Orleans University grew out of the Thomson Biblical Institute established by the first session of the Mississippi Mission Conference in 1865. At Rust College in Mississippi, Morgan College in Maryland, at Cookman Institute in Florida, and in many of the other schools, a definite place was given to the instruction of young Negro men in order to prepare them for the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Many of these college theological departments had a limited attendance, and inadequate provisions for effective and thorough training. Some process of centralization was inevitable, and this was hastened by the rapid development of theological work at Clark University, in Atlanta, Georgia.

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[39] The Christian Advocate, April 19, 1866.
[40] Ibid., January 17, 1867.

When, in 1872, the city of Atlanta took over the support of the Freedmen's School established by the Methodists in that city in 1869, the Freedmen's Aid Society used its funds toward the establishment of a theological school. Bishop D. W. Clark had realized the necessity of a theological school for colored preachers in the South as early as 1867, and it was his desire, whenever the elementary departments could be safely transferred to the state, the Methodist school should become, in the highest sense, a direct instrumentality of the Church, and be conducted especially in behalf of ministerial training.[41]

His conviction was so profound upon this subject that, upon his death Bishop Clark left a bequest to the Freedmen's Aid Society for the founding of the theological school.[42] At the same time, the Freedmen's Aid Society had decided that a theological school should be established, and took steps in that direction. In the report of the Society for 1872, this conviction was expressed in the following words:

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[41] Western Christian Advocate, February 14, 1872, quoting the Methodist Advocate, (Atlanta), January 31, 1872.

[42] Report of the F. A. S., 1872, p. 18.

> In different parts of the South much has already been done in our schools toward ministerial training. Heroically have some of our brethren battled with many discouragements. These efforts in behalf of our rising ministry are deserving of all praise. But the time has now come for increased facilities. While we may not yet withdraw from the work of primary instruction in the South, we feel that the demand for a distinct theological school is imperative. That demand has been expressed in Conference resolutions, and in personal appeals. Within a few months a common impulse has seized the whole South. One voice, and only one, is heard. From Virginia to Texas, from the Atlantic to Arkansas, tidings are borne to us of an universal uprising. Ministerial education, in some special form, for the ministry of the South, can not be any longer postponed.[43]

On January 31, 1872, the Reverend J. H. Knowles announced through the Methodist Advocate at Atlanta that the "Clark Theological Seminary will open February 14, 1872 to all those who feel called of God to the ministry, and who bring proper testimonials from their quarterly conferences, or presiding elders. All such will be made welcome."[44] The Reverend L. D. Barrows, of New England, who was "residing in Atlanta to avoid the rigor of a Northern Winter," was selected by the Freedmen's Aid Society to inaugurate the new theological seminary. Prior to the opening of the Seminary, Dr. Barrows had instructed a class of thirty Negro ministers in the Lloyd Street Methodist Church, and had gained a considerable amount of experience for his new task.[45]

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[43] Ibid., p. 19.

[44] Western Christian Advocate, February 14, 1872, quoting the Methodist Advocate.

[45] Ibid.

The Clark Theological Seminary was opened on February 14, 1872, in a new building which had been purchased for the purpose. Assisting Dean Barrows in inaugurating the new work, were Dr. E. Q. Fuller, and the Reverends J. H. Knowles and J. W. Lee. After the Seminary had been open four weeks, twenty-six regular pupils were enrolled. In an attempt to enlist the Methodist Episcopal Church in the financial support of the new venture, the Society announced:

> In entering this new field, the managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society feel that they have assumed grave responsibilities. Already the schools of the South are taxing the Society to its utmost. The Church should draw still closer to her throbbing heart this benevolent agency. Its mission is indeed divine among the lowly. The Clark Theological Seminary will be an additional burden. Great is the task undertaken. Insuperable would be the obstacles, were not God enlisted on the side of his cause. The present building must be enlarged, as soon as the funds can be obtained, in order to meet the demand. Indigent students will require assistance. The endowment of the institution must begin forthwith, as the bequest of Bishop Clark is not yet available. There is no time to lose. Hundreds of ministers, thousands of Church members, in the South, will unite with us in our appeal.[46]

The Clark Theological Seminary closed its first full session on June 20, 1873. During this term, seventy-eight students were in attendance, twenty-three of whom were in the Theological Department; the remaining students were in the elementary classes striving to learn the basic fundamentals of reading and writing.[47] A conception of the curriculum of the institution is given in the report of the

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[46] Report of the F. A. S., 1872, p. 20.

[47] Ibid., 1873, pp. 27-28.

Society for 1873, in a description of the examinations held at the close of the term for that year. The report stated that "the closing exercises consisted of review examinations in the studies of Preparatory Classes and the Class in Theology. The examinations in Reading, Spelling, Arithmetic, Grammar, Latin, Greek, Algebra, Natural Philosophy, Binney's Theological Compend, Crosby's Bible Manual and Moral Philosophy, indicated satisfactory progress on the part of the students."[48] It will be observed that the theological institution had many students who were in need of basic elementary training.

The Methodist program of theological education for Negroes received a great impetus from the gifts of Elijah H. Gammon, who made Gammon Theological Seminary possible. Mr. Gammon was a native of Maine, where he was born in 1819. He was converted to the Christian life at the age of seventeen, became a school teacher at the age of nineteen, and entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the age of twenty-four. Early in his ministerial life, a failure of his voice interfering with his work in the pulpit, he migrated to Chicago, and became a manufacturer of harvesting machinery. He not only succeeded in amassing a fortune, but made a substantial contribution to the development of harvesting machinery in the United States. Although he no longer served in the active ministry of the Church, his interest in philanthropic causes increased.[49]

Through a mutual friend, Mr. Gammon and Bishop Henry W. Warren were brought together. Bishop Warren, who at the time was resident bishop of Atlanta and had been living on the campus of Clark University, had become deeply interested in the movement for providing ministerial training to the Negro preachers of the South. Mr. Gammon, who had been interested in the welfare of the Negro for some time, was also looking for a place to invest his money where it would bear the most fruit. In the bringing together of Bishop Warren and Mr. Gammon, a "partnership" was formed for the education of Negro ministers.[50] A few years later, Mr. Gammon in a letter to Dr. J. C. Hartzell, wrote the following reasons why he was moved to invest his wealth in the program for Negro theological education:

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[48] Report of the F. A. S., 1873, p. 27.

[49] The Christian Educator (April, 1890), p. 95; Stowell, op. cit., p. 37.

> You ask me how I came to give money for education in the South. I can not say how I came to do it, only that I thought I *ought*. May be the Good Spirit led me to do it. I wanted to use what means I had to accomplish the largest amount of good. I carefully investigated the matter for some two or three years without mentioning it to any one--not even my wife--and I became clearly convinced that more good could be accomplished with the same amount of money in educating the colored people of the South than in any other way, and that, first of all, they should have intelligent, Christian leaders; hence, I decided to do what I could to establish a school for the purpose of educating their ministers. I investigated the question of location without revealing my plans, and decided on Atlanta in connection with Clark University. Up to this time I had mentioned the subject to no one . . . I afterward laid my scheme before Rev. Dr. Hatfield, who also approved it. A few weeks after consulting Dr. Hatfield, I met my old friend, the late Dr. Fuller, of Atlanta. I opened the subject up to him: he spoke very encouragingly, and on his return home to Atlanta he put me in communication with Bishop Warren, who came to see me, and we matured

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[50] Stowell, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

out plans as far as we could . . .[51]

The result of conference between Mr. Gammon and Bishop Warren led to a gift from the former of $20,000 in 1883 for the endowment of a chair of theology at Clark University.[52] Clark University announced the new department, and listed the name of Professor W. H. Crogman, a colored man, as Professor of New Testament Exegesis.[53] On October 3, 1883, the school opened; and plased under the supervision of the Reverend Wilbur P. Thirkield, who also served as Professor of Systematic and Practical Theology. Dean Thirkield thus began a career in behalf of the Negro race, which resulted in seventeen years service as Dean of Gammon Theological Seminary, President of Clark University, Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, President of Howard University, and Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The student body of the Clark School of Theology numbered nineteen students during the first year of its existence, and the number had increased to over forty students by 1885, representing most of the Southern states. Additional faculty members had been added by 1885, and the course of study was described as being "thorough and practical, extending over three years."[54]

Five years after the opening of the Clark School of Theology, the department was separated from Clark University, and given the name of Gammon School of Theology. Sometime later it was changed to Gammon

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[51] The Christian Educator (April, 1890), pp. 95-96.
[52] Ibid., (January, 1890), p. 45.
[53] Stowell, op. cit., p. 39.
[54] Report of the F. A. S., 1885, p. 9.

Theological Seminary. In February, 1888, Mr. Gammon increased the original gift to the theological school by another donation of $180,000 and at the time of his death in 1891, Mr. Gammon had contributed a total of $260,000 to the Seminary, $60,000 of which had gone into the construction of buildings, and the remaining part for endowment. His ambition for the school was summed up in a letter written a few years before his death in which he said: "I would like to see it the best theological school of the whole South, white or black."[55]

The experiment in which Mr. Gammon so firmly believed was successful from the very beginning. By 1886, the contribution of the institution to Negro ministerial education was so widely recognized that Dr. Atticus G. Haygood stated: "I think I may say, without exaggeration, that the Gammon School of Theology is in many respects the most important single experiment made by Protestantism in this country--so far as I know, in any country--in the momentous matter of teaching and training colored preachers."[56]

In 1894, the Reverend W. F. Stewart of the Methodist Episcopal Church, donated a group of farms of six hundred acres, in Central Illinois, for the establishment of the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa in Gammon Theological Seminary. The purpose of the Foundation was to relate the Negro in the United States to the task of the redemption of Africa. The eventual culmination of the Foundation resulted in a Chair of Missions at Gammon Theological Seminary; giving prizes for missionary hymns, essays, and orations; promotion of a society known as the Friends of Africa; provision of missionary libraries; and in promoting the Negroes' interest in the evangelization of the people of Africa.[57]

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[55] Stowell, op. cit., pp. 39-40.
[56] Report of the F. A. S., 1886, p. 51.

At the close of the century four hundred and fifty students had received partial training for the ministry at Gammon Theological Seminary. Of these students, eighteen had graduated with the Bachelor of Divinity degree, and one hundred and six had graduated from the three year course of study. Many of the graduates were holding responsible positions in the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South, and were regarded as testimonials of the faith which the Church had put upon ministerial education.[58]

It must not be assumed that all theological education for Negroes was offered at the Gammon Theological Seminary, during the years 1866 to 1900. As previously stated, all the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society provided in some way for religious instruction. Most of the teachers of the Methodist schools were ministers, and in addition to the regular course of Bible study in the schools, many of them instructed young men in the fundamentals of theology and church polity. At New Orleans University, President Leavitt had a group of students under theological training in 1874, and in a communication to the Western Christian Advocate described the aims and curriculum of theological education in that school. He said:

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[57] The Christian Educator (June-July, 1895), pp. 60-64.
[58] The Christian Educator (June -July, 1898), p. 126.

> This institution aims to be practical in its work, giving that kind of instruction best adapted to present wants and advancement, leaving the consideration of deep, metaphysical subjects for the next generation. Expositions on Scripture, discussions on and classifications of the elementary principles of theology, together with Scripture proofs, explanations of the doctrines and polity of the Church, being at present the general field of instruction. We aim to supplement this so far as possible, with courses of lectures on kindred subjects by the best men we can secure.[59]

In 1885, the theological work at New Orleans University was conducted under a department called the Gilbert Haven School of Theology. In that year the studnet body numbered twenty pupils, among whom were pastors of some of the churches in the city of New Orleans and vicinity, and local preachers from various sections of Louisiana. In order to meet the needs of the Negro ministers in that section, the studies at the Gilbert Haven School of Theology were arranged in two divisions: one for those who could attend the classes at the school, and the other for the pastors who could not leave their charges. The course of study covered such subjects as Introduction to Christian Theology, Historical Theology, Exegetical Theology, Systematic Theology, Practical Theology, and Biblical Hermeneutics. According to the Freedmen's Aid Society report for 1885, many members of the Louisiana Conference had in past years "been greatly helped by the studies pursued in this school."[60]

At Central Tennessee College, a theological department had been in existence from the beginning of the school in 1866. Six theological students were listed in the first catalogue published by the institution in 1869. Although theological instruction was not primarily the aim of Central Tennessee College, many students were instructed in such courses in the early years of its existence. In 1885, the theological department enrolled thirty students. They were reported to be receiving instruction in the various departments of theological training, in addition to their studies in the other departments of the college. While they were receiving instruction in mathematics, languages, science, and other branches of learning, they were "daily studying the great truths of God's Word and the doctrines and discipline of the Church, to enable them to become 'able ministers of the New Testament.'"[61] In addition to the regular courses in theology at the institution, Central Tennessee College inaugurated a "pastor's course," which might be compared to the extension courses of the present day universities. It was a course of theological studies and reading to be pursued by those pastors who were already in the pastoral work, and could not attend the instruction. Written examinations were given at stated intervals, and included the most important and practical subjects pertaining to a minister's work. Thus the "correspondence" course offered practical assistance to the Negro preachers of the South, without involving traveling expenses and absence from their local duties. In 1885, about thirty students were taking advantage of the extension course of theology.[62]

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[59] Letter of President Leavitt to the Western Christian Advocate, December 16, 1874.
[60] Report of the F. A. S., 1885, p. 11.

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61 Ibid., p. 10.
62 Ibid., p. 11.

A considerable number of Negro ministers were trained before 1890, at the Centenary Biblical Institute at Baltimore. The institution was established for the purpose of offering ministerial education to Negro preachers, and the greater number of them in the area around Baltimore and Washington, D. C., were trained at this school. Owing to the lack of preliminary training, few of the students ever reached the higher courses, and were prone to leave the school after a year or two of elementary courses in church polity and doctrine. In 1885, the progress of the institution in ministerial training was reported in the following statement:

> This institution aims at a thoroughness in its theological department that requires a previous preparation in academic studies which none of its students have heretofore reached; but this year six are enrolled in the Junior or First Year Class, while twelve others are pursuing preparatory studies, and twelve more are taking the Biblical and Theological Correspondence Course. The Institute is prepared to do the full work of a theological school, and to graduate students with a knowledge of exegetical, historical, systematic, and practical theology equal to that obtainable in almost any other institution in the land. . .[63]

In 1889, Dr. J. C. Hartzell, of the Freedmen's Aid Society, succeeded in securing the co-operation of the presidents of Claflin University, Central Tennessee College, New Orleans University, and other schools in the unification of the theological work in connection with Gammon Theological Seminary, and as a result the theological departments became a less important feature of the curriculum in the various schools of the Society.[64] As four hundred and twenty students were instructed in theological courses in all schools of the Society in 1887, it will be seen that this added patronage caused a rapid development at Gammon Theological Seminary. This change in policy did not eliminate religious instruction from other schools in the South, for at the same time a four year's course in the English Bible was made a part of the curriculum in all the schools, and the Methodist Catechism was taught daily in the lower grades.[65]

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[63] Ibid., p. 9.
[64] Hartzell to E. H. Gammon, February 13, 1889. Hartzell Papers.

In 1888, another experiment in education was inaugurated by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, when it approved the establishment of an African Training-school at Nashville, in conjunction with Central Tennessee College. The Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society approved the work, and to secure a permanent foundation for the movement, Bishop John M. Walden purchased, at his own expense, a piece of property with several buildings, adjoining the campus of Central Tennessee College, for $18,000. The purpose of the undertaking was to develop an African training-school which would give opportunity to the young men and women in the Methodist schools to receive special and thorough training for practical missionary work in Africa. In addition to such literary training as the college offered, the students were to have the advantage of acquiring some knowledge of the fundamentals of medical training.[66]

In 1890, four native African boys, ranging in age from eight to fifteen years, were sent from Miss Sharp's school in Liberia, to the African training-school at Nashville for preparation in missionary service in their own country. Their arrival created quite a commotion in Nashville, and the newspapers of the city gave considerable space to the interesting young Africans. The Negro boys from Africa apparently gave the school authorities at Nashville considerable trouble, for in 1892 Dr. Hartzell, of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society wrote to Miss Sharp at Monrovia, Africa, stating that the "boys have developed unexpected qualities of character and temper," and that he could see "no way out with reference to the boys but to find homes for them or have them returned to Africa."[67] While the officers of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society had great hopes that Negroes educated in its schools would do much toward the evangelization of Africa, few Negroes were prone to go on such a mission. Perhaps the most successful of the students educated at the African Training School was Dr. Georgia L. Patton, who completed the Normal Course of study and afterward graduated from the Meharry Medical Department. Resolving to devote her life to missionary work in Africa, she sailed for Liberia in 1893, and spent many years of service among the natives.

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[65] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1889, p. 5.
[66] Hartzell to Rev. E. L. Parks, December 11, 1894. Hartzell Papers.

The results of ministerial education among Negro preachers by the Methodist Episcopal Church were hailed by the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society at the close of the century as one of the distinguished features of all its work in the South. While the work of other Churches in this endeavor was not belittled by the Society, it made claim to have outdistanced them in training Negro preachers. "As Lincoln once said of the nurses in the hospitals, soldiers in the field and prayers to heaven," said the report of the Society in 1897, "it is no fault of others that the Methodists have equipped more preachers . . . than any other Churches which have gone into the South."[68] In 1899, the Society looked with pride upon the accomplishments achieved in theological education among the Negroes. Whereas in the 1880's a comparatively large number of aged men were among the students preparing for the ministry, at the turn of the century it was the exception to find any but young men in the theological schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and they were making preparation for their work before entering the ministry. In the early days of Methodist endeavor among the Negroes, few of the candidates for the ministry had basic elementary school training, but in 1899 the character of the students then preparing for the ministry showed that a large number had completed the preparatory work before entering the seminary. At that time, more college graduates than at any time in the history of the Methodist work in the South were in the theological schools. As a result of better equipped Negro ministers in the Methodist Episcopal Church, a great change was noted in the religious life of the blacks.[69] A higher ideal of Church life existed among the Negroes, according to The Christian Educator. Although a better conception of the religious life existed among the Negroes toward the close of the century, the Negroes themselves were not wholly satisfied with the progress made. "The black man of the South is still a shouting Methodist or a Hard-shell Baptist," said one of the Negro leaders. "His religious fervor is as warm as the Southern sun. It is painful to observe, however, that his religious fervor and red-hot enthusiasm exceed occasionally his daily practice of moral principles."[70] The Society claimed that the Negroes were making progress along these lines, nevertheless, and were no longer divorcing their morals from their religion, but "the ethics of their religious life are more and more practiced by them."[71] Another sign of progress in the religious life of the Negroes was noted by the Society, namely, that they were doing more to help themselves by contributing more liberally to the benevolences and support of their ministry.

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[67] Hartzell to Miss A. Sharp, 1892. Hartzell Papers.

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[68] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1898, p. 23.
[69] The Christian Educator (October-November, 1899), pp. 159-160.

After 1900, the Methodist Episcopal Church moved further in the direction of consolidating the theological work in the institutions in the South. This type of work was gradually eliminated from the Negro colleges and secondary schools, and all such resources turned toward the development of Gammon Theological Seminary. At the present time, this institution at Atlanta is the strongest theological school for Negroes in the nation. Its annual attendance is about one hundred students, many of whom are college graduates. Over 2,500 ministers have been trained at Gammon since its founding. While the seminary has been under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it has opened its doors to the members of many Protestant denominations. Under the leadership of Dr. Willis J. King, the institution moves forward toward the goal which Mr. Gammon set for it, namely, "the best theological school in the whole South. . ."

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[70] Ibid., p. 160.
[71] Ibid.

In addition to the training of teachers and preachers, the Methodist Episcopal Church made a valuable contribution to the preparation of Negro physicians in the South. After attending to the urgent demands for teachers and preachers, the next step in the development of the Methodist program for Negro education was the provision of facilities for adequately equipped physicians.

Prior to the Civil War, the Southern planters, as a general rule, made adequate provisions for the health of the slaves. The slave represented a financial investment of several thousand dollars, and it was to the advantage of the planter to protect his investment. Aside from this economic consideration, many planters were affectionately attached to their Negro servants and sickness among them caused them much anxiety. When the Negro was emancipated, health conditions among the race were no longer the concern of the Southern whites, and as a result the death-rate increased to an alarming degree. For example, in Savannah, Georgia, for several years before the war, the death-rate among the slaves was a little less than thirty per thousand, which was not as great as among the white people. In 1865 it was sixty-nine; in 1866, seventy-six; in 1867, forty-seven; in 1868, forty-six; and the average from 1870 to 1880 was forty-six per thousand.[72] After the war, very little attention was given by the Negroes to sanitation, hygiene, a balanced diet, or even to medical treatment.

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[72] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1888, p. 45. (Statement of Dr. G. W. Hubbard of the Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee, December 17, 1888).

Most of the benevolent organizations in the North had centered their attention toward the development of teachers, preachers, and industrial workers, and neglected such phases of education as medical preparation. Few Negro physicians in the South were equipped to administer to the needs of their people. As late as 1888, Dr. G. W. Hubbard of Meharry Medical College stated that as far as he had been able to ascertain, educated Negro physicians were the exception, and not the rule in the South. He estimated that the number of educated colored physicians for about four millions of colored people in the valley of the Mississippi River did not much exceed one hundred, and that "three-fourths of these are graduates of Meharry Medical College."[73]

The causes of the high death-rate among the Negroes of the South following the Civil War, were stated by Dr. George W. Hubbard before the anniversary meeting of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society in 1888, and is quoted to show the need of preparing Negro physicians, toward which the Society gave much assistance. Dr. Hubbard stated:

> The causes are numerous, and may be classified under four general heads,--poverty, ignorance of the laws of health, superstition, and lack of proper medical attention.
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> Among the evil results of poverty I will first mention unhealthy dwellings. They live in low, damp basements or crowded attics, situated on narrow alleys reeking with filth and moral and physical pollution; their miserable abodes are exposed to the chilly blasts of winter, with leaky roofs that offer but slight protection from the snow and rain. If they were able to

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[73] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

do so, in many places they can not, on account of their color, rent good houses in respectable localities. They often suffer from insufficient clothing, and children may be seen in their bare feet, even in the midst of winter. Their food is often of poor quality and lacking in quantity, corn-bread, bacon, coffee, and molasses being the standard diet. They are obliged to labor early and late, wet or dry, cold or hot; and this, with their insufficient clothing, is frequently a prolific cause of disease.

Their ignorance concerning the laws of health is appalling. Their churches are usually crowded, and ventilation is almost unknown. In one of the largest churches in Nashville, in the basement of which services were held for several years, there was only about fifty cubic feet of air-space to each person present, only one-tenth of what is necessary; and during protracted meetings they would remain in this poisonous atmosphere for hours.

They do not realize the importance of a proper amount of sleep. In their social gatherings, lodge-meetings, and religious services, they frequently remain until nearly midnight, and as they are obliged to rise early in the morning , they are sure, sooner or later, to feel the evil effects of such a course. The religious meetings are often scenes of intense excitement, which are followed by an equally great depression of nervous force and physical vigor.

The Christian religion is supposed to lengthen the lives of those who possess it, but when it takes the form of fatalism, it has the contrary effect. When a person believes that he can not die until his time comes, he is likely to become careless in regard to his health, and neglect those things which would tend to preserve it; and when sickness comes, it is, of course, useless to call a physician, as he would be unable to overrule the decrees of fate . . . Superstition plays no small part in increasing the death-rate. Voudoo doctors, conjurers, and quacks, here find a most inviting field in which to ply their art. This superstition is apparently of African origin, modified and changed, with large additions derived from the white man and the Indian. In some of its phases it closely resembles old New England witchcraft, with other names which signify the same thing. When a person is said to be 'tricked,' it means the same thing as good old Dr. Mather would have called bewitched; and, if popular opinion is to be

> believed, it is of common occurrence at the present day . . .
>
> Lack of proper medical attention and good nursing will account for much of the mortality among these people. . . . While the average Southern white physician may be as ready to respond to the calls of poverty as his Northern brother, it is too much to expect that he will neglect a paying practice to attend to those from whom he is sure he will receive no compensation; and many deaths occur in Nashville, as well as in other parts of the South, where a physician is either called too late or not at all.[74]

To meet these conditions among the Negroes of the South, the Freedmen's Aid Society organized the Meharry Medical department of the Central Tennessee College, in October, 1876. It was the first school established in the Southern states for the education of colored physicians, and organized at a time when all medical institutions in the South and many in the North were closed to Negroes.[75]

The funds for the Negro medical college were donated by the "Meharry brothers" of Indiana, who were interested in the project by Dr. R. S. Rust of the Freedmen's Aid Society. The five boys, Alexander, Jesse, David, Samuel, and Hugh, made gifts which totaled several thousand dollars. The largest single gift from the Maharry family was possibly from Hugh Maharry, who donated a farm valued at ten thousand dollars as an endowment for a professorship. In addition to contributions from the Freedmen's Aid Society and others, the John F. Slater Fund through its General Agent, Dr. Atticus G. Haygood, came to the assistance of the medical school during the 1880's.

The Reverend George W. Hubbard, M. D., was appointed dean of the medical department at Central Tennessee College. During the first year of its existence, the department enrolled thirty-three students. The course of study in the department was divided into two years work, the first consisting of Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Materia Medica, and Dissecting. The second year of study embraced Surgery, Obstetrics, Disesaes of Women and Children, Theory and Practice of Medicine, and Surgical Anatomy. In 1876, little was exacted by the Medical department in the way of entrance requirements. The applicant was supposed "to be at least eighteen years of age, of good moral character, and pass a satisfactory examination in the common English branches." Three requirements were to be met by the student before graduating, namely, he must have attained the age of twenty-one; he must have studied medicine for two years, and attended two full courses of lectures, the last of which was to be pursued at Central Tennessee College; and pass a satisfactory written examination on all of the branches laid down in the course, and present an acceptable original thesis on some medical subject.[76] Few white physicians, at first, were willing to be known as lecturers in a medical school for Negroes. There were, however, two physicians who dared enter the work at Meharry, and did so for low compensation, namely, Dr. W. J. Sneed and Dr. N. G. Tucker. These were Southern men; had been in the Confederate army during the war; yet, recognizing the necessity, they entered this work at the risk of losing their practice among the whites.[77] Dr. T. O. Summers, of Vanderbilt University also gave valuable time to the development of Meharry.

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[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

[75] *The Christian Educator* (April, 1890), p. 107.

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[76] Catalogue of the Central Tennessee College, 1876-77, pp. 22-23.

In order to provide the colored people of the South with an opportunity to prepare themselves for the practice of dentistry, arrangements were made at the Nashville institution in 1886, for the opening of a School of Dentistry in connection with Meharry Medical College. It was opened under the supervision of Professor J. P. Bailey, a graduate of the dental department of Vanderbilt University. Dr. W. H. Morgan, Dean of the Dental Department of Vanderbilt University, helped initiate the dental school by lecturing and demonstrating in Clinical Dentistry.[78] Nine students of dentistry were enrolled the first year, three of whom were graduated in 1887.

Following the establishment of the dental school, a Department of Pharmacy was organized in 1889. The course of study for this department consisted of two year's work in the ordinary pharmaceutical branches. The department consisted of five porfessors, several of whom also taught in the Meharry Medical College, and five students, one of whom graduated in 1890.

While the development of the Medical departments at Central Tennessee College was in progress, a movement was inaugurated at New Orleans University for the establishment of the Medical Department in that institution. The first attempt to establish a medical school at New Orleans was made at the time Dr. W. D. Godman was president of New Orleans University. In his report to the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1877, Dr. Godman stated that a medical department was developing which would soon be in successful operation.[79] Nothing was done, however, until November 4, 1889, when the Medical Department was opened. Bishop Mallalieu of the Methodist Episcopal Church was largely responsible for the promotion of Negro medical training in New Orleans. He interested Mr. John D. Flint of Fall River, Massachusetts, in the educational work among the Negroes, which resulted in a gift to New Orleans University of $25,000, fifteen thousand of which was expended for property for the medical school, and ten thousand dollars of the total amount was used as the beginnings of an endowment. Mr. Flint donated the sum to the University with the stipulation that there should always be maintained a school of Pharmacy and Midwifery.[80]

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[77] Cummings, op. cit., p. 402.

[78] Catalogue of Central Tennessee College, 1886-87, p. 44.

Dr. J. C. Hartzell, of the Freedmen's Aid Society, was not altogether in favor of the medical school at New Orleans. In a letter to Bishop Mallalieu in 1889, Dr. Hartzell stated his reasons for discouraging the project in the following words: "First, we have one medical college that is doing good work and could take as many more students as it does. In the second place, some of the brethren question whether as a matter of benevolence we ought to establish medical colleges or not, and third, from several parts of the field the demands for aid are so pressing in the direct work of education that we are distressed at every meeting."[81] Nevertheless, Bishop Mallalieu continued in his work of raising $50,000 for endowment of the Medical school. He printed a pamphlet entitled "A Cry of Human Hearts," in which he said of the proposed school: "It is beneficent in its purpose as the gospel, and as broad in its plan as humanity. But some one may say: 'What! have you no medical school in the great city of New Orleans?' The answer is: 'Yes, we have a large and excellent one; but it is only for white students. No colored man, whatever his merits, is allowed to enter it. Meanwhile, within three hundred miles of New Orleans there are probably more than two millions of colored people. The death-rate among them is far in excess of that among the whites."[82] In the following year it was announced that Bishop Mallalieu had succeeded in securing donations in land, annuity gifts, and other assets, to the amount of over $50,000, and that the bishop was "pushing the magnificant work of raising an endowment of $200,000."[83]

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[79] Report of the F. A. S., 1877, p. 27.
[80] Seventy Years of Service, p. 17.

The first Commencement exercises of the Medical College at New Orleans ~~were~~ held February 26, 1892. A class of five students was graduated. The address to the class was made by Dean Isaac M. Mullen, a graduate of the New Orleans University and of Meharry Medical College. In addition to his duties as a practicing physician in New Orleans, Dr. Mullen also served as dean of the Medical College.

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[81] Hartzell to Bishop Mallalieu, September 13, 1889. Hartzell Papers.
[82] The Christian Educator (January, 1891), pp. 61-62.
[83] The Christian Educator (January, 1892), p. 339.

In recognition of the gifts of Mr. Flint, the Board of Trustees changed the name from New Orleans Medical College to Flint Medical College. The Medical work was continued at this institution until 1910, when for lack of facilities to meet the requirements of the American Medical Association, the courses were discontinued and the students transferred to Meharry Medical College at Nashville.

In addition to these two Medical Colleges for Negro men, the Freedmen's Aid Society established a number of Nurse-training schools in connection with the various institutions in the South. Perhaps the most fruitful effort along this line was made at New Orleans. In 1896, a group of colored women undertook to meet the demand for a place where colored people could receive proper medical and surgical attention, and where the Negro girls might receive nurse training. Bishop Mallalieu interested himself in this project and secured from Mrs. Caroline Mudge of Boston, Massachusetts, money to purchase a lot adjoining New Orleans University, in addition to stock in a Massachusetts cotton mill with which to endow the Sarah Goodridge Nurse Training School and Hospital. This institution has continued throughout the years to serve the colored people of that section. Recently, it has been incorporated into Dillard University, where it still functions as an invaluable center for public health education. Nurse-training courses were also offered at Rust University, and at Clark University. These courses consisted of a non-professional course of two years and a professional course of three years work.[84]

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[84] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1889, p. 36.

The medical schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society continued their growth throughout the 1890's. Since the Society turned its attention to the development of the Meharry Medical College as the medical center for the training of Negroes, it drew most of the students in the South for such training. In 1900, the attendance was the largest in the history of the school, sixteen pharmacy, nineteen dental, and one hundred and seventy-five medical students having been enrolled. At the twenty-fourth annual commencement of Meharry Medical College in 1900, there were two graduates in dentistry, one in pharmacy, and thirty-four in medicine. Of the three hundred and forty living graduates in that year, exclusive of the class of 1900, the occupation of ten was unknown; three were disabled by sickness; two were in the service of the United States Government; one had entered the profession of pharmacy; one had taken up the practice of dentistry; eight had entered the ministry; one was a Sunday-school agent; one had gone to South America as a medical missionary, and the remaining three hundred and three graduates were successfully practicing the medical profession.[85]

Statistics concerning the graduates at the Medical School at New Orleans University in 1900 are lacking, but when the school was merged with Meharry Medical College in 1910, seventy-four colored men had received the degree of Doctor of Medicine, about sixty students had graduated from the School of Pharmacy, and two hundred colored women had been trained in the profession of nursing.[86] Since the inauguration of medical training for Negroes in 1876, the various schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society had enrolled in 1900, 4,297 medical, 348 dental, and 277 pharmacy students, many of whom were rendering valuable service to their race.[87] In addition to increasing enrollments and general progress in the Methodist Medical schools, the progressive spirit of the administrators of these schools is shown by the fact that in 1895, the Meharry and New Orleans Medical schools were the only ones in the South, among both blacks and whites, which required a four year's course of medicine before graduation.[88]

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[85] The Christian Educator (June-July, 1900), p. 135.
[86] Seventy Years of Service, p. 18.

In 1936, the Meharry Medical College had the remarkable record of 4,200 graduates in its fifty years of immeasurable service. With a modern two million dollar plant and equipment at the present time, Meharry has a tremendous and increasingly important place in the health of America and other countries represented by the students and graduates. The educational program includes medicine, pharmacy, dentistry and dental hygiene, and nurse training. The need for Negro medical graduates is still felt in many sections of the country. A single example of the need of such graduates is the state of Georgia which, in 1936, with a Negro population of 1,071,125, has a Negro physician for every 5,549 and a dentist for every 18,154 of their population.

Any attempt to relate the history of medical education for Negroes in the South can not be complete without mentioning the extraordinary efforts of Dr. George Whipple Hubbard. He organized the Meharry Medical department of Central Tennessee College in 1876, and remained its executive head for forty-four years. Resigning as active head of the school in 1921, he became President Emeritus. Dr. Hubbard was born in New Hampshire in 1841, grew to young manhood in that state, and became a school teacher just prior to the Civil War. When hostilities began, he volunteered for service in the Christian Commission and served with the Army of the Potomac. When a Confederate general destroyed the railroad out of Nashville, Dr. Hubbard, who had been transferred to the army in that section, was left stranded in the city. He was urged to teach in the "contraband" schools for Negroes at Nashville, during which time he discovered his life work. After graduating from the Medical Department of the University of Tennessee, he practiced medicine for a short time, and was then called back to Nashville to organize the first medical school for Negroes west of the Allegheny Mountains.[89] He also organized the Medical department of New Orleans University in 1889. One of his most valuable services to the Negro race was his ability to enlist the aid of prominent Southern men in the establishment and development of Meharry Medical College. A tribute paid to the work of Dr. Hubbard by Dean Wilbur F. Tillet of Vanderbilt University in 1934, reveals the high regard Southern men had for this pioneer educator. Dr. Tillet wrote:

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[87] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1905, p. 23. (A small percentage of the total number were enrolled at U. S. Grant University, at Chattanooga, Tennessee, a school for whites under the auspices of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society.)
[88] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1895, p. 108.

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[89] Stowell, op. cit., p. 56.

> There is no form of phase of education in the South, pertaining to the colored race, which is of more value and more promise of increasing useful service in the future than that of Medical education. The one man who pioneered, inaugurated and first directed this work in the South was Dr. George W. Hubbard. Meharry Medical College owes its existence to him not less than to the Meharry brothers. Without Dr. Hubbard's heart and mind and vision this large, useful and growing institution would never have been . . . When its history comes to be written and the men who made it are named, the first and foremost place of honor should be given to Dr. George W. Hubbard . . . He was one of the finest Christian characters I have ever known.[90]

The only attempt to educate and prepare Negroes for the practice of law was undertaken at Central Tennessee College at Nashville. In the year 1879, the Honorable John Lawrence, of Nashville, volunteered to instruct the young men at Central Tennessee College who desired to study law. An announcement of the Law Department of the college was published in the catalogue for 1879-1880, stating that a Law course of two years duration would be offered to applicants who were able to pass a thorough examination in all the common English studies, give satisfactory evidences of good moral character, and meet the financial requirements of the institution. The curriculum for the department included a full course of the regular law subjects of that time. The school started under very promising circumstances, and was the first for the education of colored attorneys in the southern states.[91]

The enrollment in the Law Department was small at Central

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[90] Roman, Charles V., Meharry Medical College -- A History (Nashville, 1934), p. 56.

[91] Catalogue of Central Tennessee College, 1879-1880, p. 21.

Tennessee College, averaging six or eight students a year from 1879 to 1900. Few of the graduates were allowed to practice their profession before the courts in the Southern states, and the law department at Central Tennessee College was discontinued.

Industrial training as part of the curriculum of an educational institution was no innovation to the Methodists who went into the South after the Civil War to establish institutions of learning for the Negroes. The belief that industrial education should be a part of the school curriculum was held by the early Methodists who settled in this country before and after the Revolutionary War. Industrial training was a part of the teaching insisted upon by Bishops Coke and Asbury at Cokesbury College. This was the first institution of learning established by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and was located near Baltimore, Maryland. Action looking to its establishment was taken in 1784, when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized. When the rules governing the college in every particular were adopted by the ministers, in their Conference session, after having been prepared by the bishops, they made provisions for industrial education as an essential part of the program of Christian education.

In a copy of the Discipline, published in 1790, section 29 is devoted to the plan of education established in Cokesbury College. After giving in detail the reasons for founding the college, and who should be permitted to attend, and emphasizing the fact that its work was distinctively Christian education, the Discipline stated:

> We prohibit play in the strongest terms, and in this we have the two greatest writers on the subject that perhaps any age had produced--Mr. Locke and Mr. Rousseau--of our sentiments; for though the latter was essentially mistaken in his religious systems, yet his wisdom in other respects and essential genius are indisputably acknowledged. The employments, therefore, which we have chosen for the recreation of the students are such as are of the greatest public utility--agriculture and architecture--studies more essentially necessary for a newly settled country; and the consequence of instructing our youth in all the practical branches of those important arts will be an effectual method of rendering them more useful to their country.[92]

Under the rules for the economy of the college and students, the *Discipline* stated:

> Rule 12. Their recreations shall be gardening, walking, riding, and bathing, without doors, and the carpenter's, joiner's, cabinet-maker's, and turner's business within doors.
> Rule 13. A large lot of land, of at least three acres, shall be appropriated for the garden, and persons skilled in gardening be appointed to overlook the students when employed in that recreation.[93]

Thus it will be seen that vocational education was in the Methodist tradition for many years before the establishment of such work among the Negroes of the South.

According to the report of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society for 1900, the Methodists recognized the need for industrial training among the Freedmen immediately after the Civil War, and took steps to establish vocational education at that time. The report for that year asserted:

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[92] Quoted by J. C. Hartzell in *The Christian Educator* (April, 1892), pp. 368-369.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 369.

> Industrial education . . . is the great need of the South. This fact we have recognized from the very beginning, indeed before our Society assumed its present name, under what was then known as the Western Christian Association with Dr. J. M. Walden (now Bishop) as secretary, this work of industrial education was begun. In 1867, thirty-three years ago, when the Western Christian Association for the education of Freedmen took a denominational form, it was merged into the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church with Dr. Walden still the Secretary. The records show that the Board of Managers took action enlarging the industrial work already begun. From that time to the present day industrial education has been one of the most prominent features of our work. It will thus be seen that before Hampton entered upon her remarkable career, and before Tuskegee was born, we were teaching our boys how to use the hammer, the plane, and the saw.[94]

The reasons for a program of industrial education for the Southern Negroes in Methodist schools are many, and are stated frequently in the Methodist religious press and literature dealing with the educational program in the South. Some authors have claimed that missionary teachers from the North, in defense of their idea of classical training, attacked the educational policy of industrial training, and "for a generation thereafter the quarrel as to whether the Negro should be given a classical or a practical education was the dominant topic in Negro schools and churches throughout the United States."[95] This may have been true with some benevolent agencies who worked among the Negroes after the war, but evidence points to the fact that Methodists from the North advocated practical as well as classical education from the beginning of their efforts among the race. In 1869, a correspondent from Nashville, Tennessee, wrote to the Western Christian Advocate and in stating his theory of educating the Freedmen, he said:

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[94] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1900, p. 17.
[95] Woodson, C. G., The Mis-Education of the Negro (Washington, D. C., 1933), p. 12.

> Some have comfortable homes . . . many, however, are destitute. The work of elevating the freedmen is not finished, it is only begun. To teach them to read and write is a grand work, but they need more than this. They must be taught the elements of domestic economy . . . This will be taught especially by the colored teachers who are sent out to labor among them. As these teachers will be mostly educated here, they should be brought under such influences in our normal schools as will fit them not only to teach the usual lessons of schoolroom, but also give that instruction in domestic economy absolutely necessary to the true elevation of the race.[96]

Although some forms of industrial training had been taught in the Methodist Negro institutions prior to 1880, a changing emphasis appeared after this date in the introduction of industrial education in schools where it had not been found before and by strengthening such courses where the work had been inaugurated. The lack of funds had prevented the Methodists from fully developing industrial departments in their schools before the 1880's, but contributions from the Northern philanthropic foundations after that time caused a rapid growth in vocational training. As a consequence of this added impetus, the philosophy of vocational training in the Negro schools of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society became more pronounced, and is stated more frequently in its reports. By 1887, the theory and reasons for industrial education had been clarified to the extent that the Society offered the following justification of its development in the schools:

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[96] Letter of "Nashville," to the Western Christian Advocate, January 6, 1869.

> 1st. It keeps prominently before the minds of the young the idea that work is the great mission of life. It is the mandate of Heaven, that in the sweat of the face we shall eat bread all the days of our life, and the inference is logical that if we will not work we shall fail in the mission of life.
>
> 2d. It reflects dignity upon labor. It places skilled labor upon an elevated plane, and ranks it among the scholarly attainments. This removes false impressions in regard to labor, and shows its true relation to the obligations of life.
>
> 3d. It furnishes the means of obtaining a competent support and a respectable standing in society. A good trade is capital that the caprices of fortune can not take away from its possessor.
>
> 4th. Industrial training is essential to symmetrical development. The education of the head and heart is incomplete without that of the hand. Physical education is essential to intellectual and moral, and imparts beauty and strength to both.
>
> 5th. In olden times in the South, promising hands were taught trades, and, though slaves, they became skilled workmen and good mechanics. These are rapidly passing away, and there is great need of trained men in the various industries of Southern life, to fill the ranks thinned by age, proscription, and death.
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> 6th. Avenues to mechanical pursuits are closed to colored persons by labor associations, which dictate terms of apprenticeship. This proscription is not confined to the South, but prevails, with scarcely less relentless rigor, in the North.
>
> The emancipated race can furnish labor in abundance; but it is skilled labor that is demanded, and that can most successfully contribute to the growth and reputation of the republic and the usefulness and happiness of its people. Philanthropists can find no better way to aid this neglected population than by contributing liberally to establish and support industrial schools,

> in which youth may be taught trades, and drilled in the principles and practice of mechanical arts. This will enable them to acquire property, secure homes, culture, and influence, and become useful members of society.[97]

In the 1890's, when the battle over the admission of manual-training into the school curriculum was raging among educators, Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, a colored teacher in one of the Methodist schools, wrote an article defending the system of vocational education. After pointing out the advantages of training the Southern Negro to earn his own livelihood, Dr. Bowen stated:

> When the State will rise up and classify vagrancy and industrial ignorance as crimes, breeding pauperism, insanity, and anarchy, the gray dawn of the millennium will light our eastern sky. No people need this blessing more than the colored people. With the spelling-book in one hand, and the chisel in the other, the Negro will spell out his destiny and chip out his place in history. Philippics have their place in awakening a sleeping nation to the threatening dangers of existing evils; books and sermons all add their quota in accepting these dangers and arousing a lethargic conscience; but the hand that throws the painter's brush or guides the engine's lever; the arm that pushes the saw and plane or swings the sledge-hammer in the training of the colored man, will do more to elevate him as a real factor in the Republic than the most classic and finished oration ever delivered.[98]

Another Methodist commentator, viewing the situation of the Negro in the South in 1897, declared that "he has got to be a better skilled workman than the white man to stand equal chances. Industrial education will elevate him so that he may become the conductor of trains and even President of the Railroad in 'Jim Crow' States."[99] When the Harper's Weekly, and a paper called Dixie, published at Atlanta, criticized the Negro colleges of the South for educating Negroes along classical and professional lines which they could not later put to use, Dr. J. W. Hamilton of the Freedmen's Aid Society, declared: "The trouble with both writers was fairly expressed by Josh Billings, when he said that it is better not to know so many things than to know so many things that are not so. Both writers seem to think that the colleges in the South have no industrial training, while the fact is that there is no college, scarcely any school worthy of the name, which does not teach both the industries and proprieties of domestic economy. What do these writers suppose the Peabody trustees, and Slater trustees, the American Missionary Association, the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, and all other industrial missionary organizations are doing in the South?"[100]

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[97] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1887, p. 15.
[98] The Christian Educator (April, 1890), p. 118.

Another reason given for the program of vocational education among the Negroes of the South was that such training had moral value as discipline. One president of a Methodist Negro school praised its moral value in these words:

> The moral influence has been very favorable. The young men who have worked in the Industrial Departments have been kept employed, and have no doubt been saved to a great degree from the foolishness, so common among college students, of finding their highest enjoyment

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[99] Ibid., (June-July, 1897), p. 106.
[100] Ibid., p. 110.

> in tormenting others, and thinking that performing mischievous pranks without being detected is a mark of intellectual shrewdness. The value of this opportunity afforded the students of forming habits of industry while learning a trade is very great. The power to earn a living in various ways gives a consciousness of strength of independence, that is very helpful in the formation of true manliness. Giving this education to the colored youth will help to give them right views of life, and to make good use of the opportunity they may have of being good citizens, and of securing for themselves the results of intelligent industry.[101]

The co-operation of Dr. Atticus G. Haygood, the first General Agent of the John F. Slater Fund, 1882-1891, and a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with the Northern Methodist educators, made possible the extensive development of vocational education in the Negro schools. Dr. Haygood believed strongly in the inclusion of vocational training in the curricula of the Negro institutions. Classical education, according to Dr. Haygood, was a poor solution for the problems of the Southern Negro. "It creates wants, but does not give the ability to supply them," said Haygood on one occasion. "'Book-learning' alone dissatisfies the negro with the cabin, but does not train him how to build for himself a better home. . . . The education that creates a better taste for better living but does not teach the youth how to secure it, that education hurts more than it helps him."[102] Dr. Haygood's belief that the higher institutions of learning for Negroes should give major emphasis to industrial training was so pronounced that it became the general policy of the Slater Fund to aid only those schools which offered such training.

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[101] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1890, p. 164.
[102] Haygood, A. G., "A General Statement Concerning Tool Craft among the Negroes," in the New York Observer, April 5, 1888.

Serving at the same time with Dr. Haygood was ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, who held the position as president of the Board of Trustees of the Slater Fund from 1882-1893. President Hayes was an ardent member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and had shown considerable interest in Negro education from the beginning of the Freedmen's Aid Society. Donations from the fund were made to the Methodist schools from 1883 until the middle of the last decade of the century for the purposes of establishing industrial departments and aiding in the training of teachers. When the Slater Board of Trustees failed to appropriate $1,500 for the support of a teacher in the industrial department at Clark University in 1889, Dr. Hartzell of the Freedmen's Aid Society wrote to a friend and said: "Some outside parties, in my judgment some Congregational brethren, had been meddling with Haygood's administration, so that the Executive Committee in New York had got an idea that the Methodists were getting too much, but the facts are that we have not been receiving as much as others."[103] It is apparent that much rivalry existed among the religious denominations who sought aid from organized philanthropy in the North.

Dr. J. L. M. Curry, another Southern man, succeeded Dr. Haygood as General Agent of the Slater Fund. He was as equally co-operative as Dr. Haygood in assisting the Methodist Negro schools. In 1891, Dr. Curry wrote to Dr. Hartzell and stated that the following appropriations had been made to Methodist schools, namely, Central Tennessee College, $1,600; Claflin University, $2,000; Clark University, $2,500; New Orleans University, $1,200; Rust University, $1,300; Gilbert Academy, $800; and Philander Smith College, $600. The stated use of this money was for the support of teachers and instructors in the industrial and normal departments.[104] In 1892, the Slater Fund contributed a total of $12,000 to the support of vocational education at Clark, Claflin, and New Orleans Universities; Central Tennessee and Meharry Medical Colleges.[105]

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[103] Hartzell to Rev. Mr. Berry, October 23, 1889. Hartzell Papers.

Although Dr. Curry gave considerable aid to the Methodist schools in the early 1890's, it was apparent by 1895 that some change was being contemplated by Dr. Curry and the Slater Fund. From all evidence it seems that Dr. Curry had decided to give less support to the Northern Methodist schools, which caused a considerable amount of anxiety among the Methodist leaders. In 1895, Dr. Hartzell wrote to one of the presidents of the Negro schools in the South and said: "Have just received a pamphlet from Dr. Curry on the 'Difficulties, Complications, and Limitations connected with the Education of the Negro,' which I regard as exceedingly significant. It seems to me that he is preparing the way to draw the entire influence of not only the Peabody, but of the Slater into the hands to say the least thoroughly southern."[106] In view of the fact that in many places in the South various denominational schools were competing with each other for Negro patronage, the Slater Fund attempted a union of the industrial work of Clark and Atlanta Universities, both in the city of Atlanta, Georgia. Dr. Hartzell of the Freedmen's Aid Society opposed the suggestion of the Slater Board, and wrote to the president of Clark University, saying: "To my mind it is a wild scheme and means in the end both schools will be without appropriations from the Slater Fund."[107] In another letter he stated his reasons for opposing the Slater recommendation which were as follows: "1. It would render useless the plants which both institutions have; 2. It would occupy entirely too much of the time of the students to go and come; 3. It would make the right of discipline impracticable; and 4. It would . . . be the inauguration of a movement that would soon establish an entirely independent school."[108] That the Methodists lost the support of the Slater Fund by 1897 is revealed by a letter from Dr. J. W. Hamilton to the president of Rust University. Hamilton stated: "The only way we can get money from the Slater Fund now is to show sagacity in the management of an industrial plant in a small way ourselves. You must remember every school in the South is after that Fund, and we have lost it for inefficiency in certain of our schools and we will have to get it back as best we can."[109] The Northern Methodist leaders in the South expressed regret at having lost the co-operation of Dr. Atticus G. Haygood. Dr. Hamilton, in a communication to Dr. Haygood, then a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, said: "The old days are not forgotten. My heart is as your heart, if my head differs a bit from yours. . . . I wish that you had charge of the Slater Fund now."[110] After the turn of the century the Methodists again secured funds from the Slater Board for the continuation of industrial education in a limited number of schools.

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[104] Hartzell to the Reverends John Braden, L. M. Dunton, W. H. Hickman, L. G. Adkinson, C. F. Libby, W. D. Godman, and Thomas Mason, June 30, 1891. Hartzell Papers.
[105] Hartzell to Rev. John Braden, April 19, 1892. Hartzell Papers.
[106] Hartzell to Rev. L. G. Adkinson, December 19, 1895. Hartzell Papers.

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[107] Hartzell to Rev. D. C. John, June 11, 1895. Hartzell Papers.
[108] Hartzell to Rev. D. C. John, June 22, 1895. Hartzell Papers.
[109] Hamilton to Rev. W. W. Foster, October 29, 1897. Hamilton Papers.

Claflin University, at Orangeburg, South Carolina, probably made the greatest contribution of all the Methodist schools to the industrial and agricultural training of the Negro in the South. Dr. A. Webster, one of the founders of the school at Orangeburg, secured the location of the State Agricultural and Mechanical College in connection with Claflin University in 1870, while serving as chaplain of the Senate of the state of South Carolina. An experimental farm was provided which was designed to fit students for the practical duties of life, and an industrial department was established for the training of mechanics.

In 1880, the state of South Carolina placed the Agricultural and Mechanical College under the supervision of President Cook of Claflin University, and appropriated $6,000 annually towards the support of the teachers and pupils. By 1885, Claflin University reported a flourishing department of vocational education, consisting of an Agricultural Department and a School of Carpentry. A Printing Department was being orgainized in that year, and the president of the school reported that it would soon be in operation. Claflin University received $1,200 from the state of South Carolina during the year 1884-1885, for the support of the Agricultural Department, and one hundred students availed themselves of the opportunity to learn practical farming and to meet necessary school expenses. One hundred acres of land were under cultivation by the students and the principal crops raised were corn, cotton, peas, oats, and sweet potatoes. After the produce from the farm operated by the college was sold, the supervisors of the department realized about four hundred dollars profit above expenses.

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[110] Hamilton to Bishop A. G. Haygood, June 24, 1895. Hamilton Papers.

The school of Carpentry at Claflin in 1885 was chiefly sustained by the contributions from the Slater Fund, and the appropriation for that school year amounted to $2,000. The forty-four students receiving aid from the fund were required to labor fourteen hours per week, for which they received $174.00 as a partial compensation for their labor. The students enrolled in this department had erected a carpentry shop during the year, which was fitted with several sets of tools. Most of the students of the School of Carpentry were from the upper classes, and they had learned the trade in addition to earning enough money to meet their school expenses.[111]

The produce from the student-operated farm at Claflin University made it possible to furnish meals to the students at a cost of about twelve cents per day. The diet of the students in the 1880's consisted of corn-bread, potatoes, and such food-stuff as could be produced on the farm. The Negro students apparently were adept at farming, for in 1890, President Dunton reported that "from last year's crop of corn we have supplied our students with fifteen bushels per week. . . . We raised seventeen hundred bushels of sweet potatoes last year, and have consumed them all in our boarding department."[112]

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[111] Report of the F. A. S., 1885, pp. 24-25.

In 1890, twenty trades and industries were taught at Claflin University, some of which are as follows: Carpentry, cabinet-making, building, agriculture, steam laundrying, printing, painting and graining, brick making and laying, blacksmithing, milling, tailoring, shoemaking, cooking, domestic economy, nurse-training, dress cutting, fitting and making, crocheting, artistic painting, and needle-work. The vocational departments of Claflin University did most of the work of erecting new buildings as needed from time to time, and all the furniture needed at the school was manufactured by the students.[113]

According to Dr. J. C. Hartzell, of the Freedmen's Aid Society, the industrial work at Claflin proved to be successful in 1891. "It is not all theories," said he, "that will bear the test of experiment so well as that connected with our industrial training."[114] To prove his statement, Dr. Hartzell quoted the following letter from President Dunton of Claflin University, describing a day's work at the institution:

> Yesterday we taught four hundred students in English Department, trades and industries, while the Normal

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[112] The Christian Educator (July, 1890), p. 158.
[113] Ibid., p. 144.
[114] The Christian Educator (July, 1891), p. 262.

> College Preparatory and college students took their regular recitations in the Literary Departments. It was our most successful day, both in the work accomplished and in the enthusiasm of the occasion. The cooking class prepared the dessert for the students' dinner. The three carpentry classes wainscoted the students' dining-hall. Two hundred girls were instructed four hours in sewing. Four hundred students were instructed ninety minutes in penmanship and book-keeping. The class in painting painted two rooms in the Haygood shop, which are to be used by the Industrial Departments. The class in shoemaking repaired shoes and began new work. The Brick and Masonry Department completed a very artistic front for a brick building, and laid three pillars under a university building which needed additional support. The class in agriculture learned to measure wood piled to any height. The class in blacksmithing is at work at present making chains. Four new machines were placed in our Department of Wood-working by machinery. Eighty students were instructed in typesetting. The usual force is maintained in the steam-laundry. The classes in dress-making, nurse-training, and drawing are among the most popular in the institution.[115]

In spite of the fact that the resources of the State Agricultural and Mechanical College were withdrawn from Claflin University in 1896, the latter was pronounced the best trade school in the South in 1898. In the separation of the two institutions, the authorities of South Carolina removed several shops from the premises of Claflin University, but the Methodists carried the work forward and much of the industrial instruction took the form of new buildings, erected and largely equipped by the students.

In 1900, Claflin University was the largest industrial institution under the auspices of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society. In that school year there were over five hundred students enrolled in the industrial classes, and the curriculum was composed of thirty-two different trades. Some of the graduates of the institution had achieved more than ordinary success with their work. Two of the superintendents at Tuskegee Institute were graduates of the industrial department at Claflin. Another had been employed as the superintendent of a large reformatory in one of the Northern states, and many of the graduates of the department were successfully engaged in industrial work in all sections of the South.[116]

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[115] Ibid., p. 262.

The development of industrial and vocational education at the other schools of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society was quite similar to the development at Claflin University. The work was stressed at Clark University, at Atlanta, Georgia. Vocational education was offered at the institution before 1880, but the donations of the Slater Fund after 1882, caused the enlargement of training facilities to a great degree. By 1889, the industrial students at Clark were being equipped in various trades, and learning to make carpentry products, wagons, carriages, harness, and various mechanical products.[117]

Probably the most skilled Negro workers were trained by the Methodists at the School of Mechanic Arts at Central Tennessee College. The school was dedicated in January, 1891, and placed under the supervision of Professor H. G. Sedgwick, a Methodist minister and member of the Upper Iowa Conference. He was considered to be an accomplished mechanician and somewhat of a genius in the field of mechanic art. He equipped the school at a cost of $22,000, at his own expense, and "consecrated it all, with his own splendid genius in mechanic art, to the work of Christian education under the direction of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society."[118] Under the direction of Professor Sedgwick, the Negro students learned to construct steam-engines, electric motors and dynamos, and other intricate machinery. A telescope was made at the school for use at the observatory at Lawrence University in Wisconsin, which, according to reports, was over "sixteen feet long."[119] Five-eights of the work was done wholly by the students in the department. This instruction in the skilled trades was carried on at Central Tennessee College until 1894, when a disastrous fire destroyed the Mechanic Arts plant. Plans were later made to rebuild the structure,[120] but the financial conditions of the Society prevented such action.

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[116] The Christian Educator (June, July, 1900), p. 135.
[117] Report of the F. A. S. E. S., 1889, pp. 54-55.

The property owned by Gilbert Academy, at Winstead, Louisiana, made possible the development of an extensive program of agricultural training among the Negroes of that section. From the twelve hundred acres of land the institution had access to large supplies of timber to use in the teaching of wood-working trades. Four hundred acres of the land were cultivated by the students in the Agricultural Department. In addition to these occupations, the students were instructed in Mechanical Drawing, Baking, Sewing, Laundrying, and various mechanical subjects.[121] So favorable were the conditions at Gilbert Academy for vocational education, Dr. A. G. Haygood considered it to be one of the best in the South for the teaching of practical sciences and all forms of industry.

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[118] The Christian Educator (April, 1891), pp. 97-104.
[119] Ibid., (January, 1892), p. 329.
[120] Hartzell to Dr. J. L. M. Curry, April 8, 1895. Hartzell Papers.

The story of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Negro education would be incomplete without a brief survey of the work of the Woman's Home Missionary Society among the Negro women of the South. After the Methodists had been engaged in this benevolent work for some years, leaders among the movement realized the need for efforts toward the elevation of Negro girls and women.

The importance of work among the freed women of the South was urged at the annual meetings of the executive committee of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Chicago, Cincinnati, New York, and Baltimore from 1871 to 1875. It was proposed that the word "foreign" be dropped from the name of the Society making its field the same for women as that of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which included both domestic and foreign missions. This suggestion was not approved by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, and in August 1876, letters of those interested in the Negro women of the South were sent to prominent leaders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, asking them, in case a separate organization should be deemed advisable, to suggest the form which the movement should assume. At a meeting of interested women in Cincinnati, during September, 1876, a resolution was adopted recommending work auxiliary to the Freedmen's Aid Society, and the appointment of a woman assistant to the corresponding secretary of that Society, and other women to serve on the Board of Managers.[122] Although the Freedmen's Aid Society needed the assistance of all agencies of the Church, the executive committee held that the plan to introduce women into the board membership was contrary to the charter of the Freedmen's Aid Society, and explained that the "act of incorporation can not be altered or amended under the laws of Ohio as they now are."[123] Nevertheless, the executive committee of the Freedmen's Aid Society agreed to introduce them as counselors and advisors, and permit nine women to serve on the Advisory Board.

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[121] Report of the F. A. S. E. S/, 1891, pp. 220-222.

During the time the women in the North were attempting to make some arrangements with the agencies of the Church to inaugurate the work among the Negro women of the South, steps were already being taken in Louisiana by Mrs. Jennie C. Hartzell, the wife of Dr. J. C. Hartzell. Going to New Orleans with her husband in 1870, Mrs. Hartzell inaugurated a work among the colored women without any authority other than her interest in their welfare. Mrs. R. S. Rust visited the South with her husband during this period and gave encouragement to Mrs. Hartzell and the work which she had started. Dr. R. S. Rust and Bishop Isaac W. Wiley also "approved of the work that had been inaugurated by Mrs. Hartzell."[124] When she established a mission school for Negro women at one of the Northern Methodist churches in the winter of 1877-1878, Mrs. Hartzell became personally responsible for the salaries of the teachers, the rent, and the furnishings of the school. Forced to flee to the North because of a scourge of yellow fever in Louisiana, Mrs. Hartzell collected seven hundred dollars from women in the North and went back to the South to continue the work. This small amount of money was so wisely expended by Mrs. Hartzell that eight schools and a home for workers were made possible, with the result that five hundred girls and women were instructed. Later, thirteen such schools were started by Mrs. Hartzell in Louisiana.[125]

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[122] Letter of Mrs. R. S. Rust in the Northwestern Christian Advocate, October 4, 1893.

[123] Western Christian Advocate, July 26, 1876; Ibid., December 13, 1876.

[124] Brummitt, Stella W., Looking Backward - Thinking Forward : Fifty Years' History of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church (Cincinnati, 1930), p. 16.

A significant beginning in the education of Negro women was also being made at this time by Mrs. L. M. Dunton, who, under the direction of Dr. E. O. Thayer, established a school and model home for girls at Orangeburg, South Carolina.

Such efforts among the Negro women were successful, but with few exceptions little was done in an organized fashinn until 1880, when the Woman's Home Missionary Society came into existence. Failing to secure assistance for the Negro women of the South from existing agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a group of women met at the Trinity Church in Cincinnati, on June 9, 1880, and took steps which led to the organization of the Society. The women were guided in their efforts by those acquainted with the Freedmen's work in the South, especially Bishop I. W. Wiley. According to Mrs. R. S. Rust,

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[125] Brummitt, _op_. _cit_., pp. 16-17.

"to Bishop Wiley, who early recognized the importance of providing for the organized efforts of women in behalf of home missions, and to the officers of the Freedmen's Aid Society, should be attributed the honor of originating, and in its early history guiding this Society."[126]

The first President of the Woman's Home Missionary Society was Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, wife of the ex-President of the United States, who served in this capacity until her death in 1889. Mrs. Richard S. Rust was elected corresponding secretary of the new Society, and served it with remarkable efficiency until 1899. She was the chief figure among Methodist women in the organization of the Society, and during its early existence, traveled, "at her own expense, many thousands of miles and attended large numbers of Conferences each year to make a plea for the work to which she had consecrated her life."[127]

Immediately after the organization of the Woman's Home Missionary Society, teachers were sent into the South to organize schools and homes for colored girls and women. At the first annual meeting of the Society, a resolution was adopted asking the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church for $20,000 to assist in inaugurating the work.[128] In 1880, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church endorsed the organization of the Society and gave it authority to raise money in the various churches of the denomination. Its constitution was adopted by the General Conference of 1884, and it was constituted as a regular agency of the Church.[129] By 1890, the Woman's Home Missionary Society had pushed the work of organization with such energy that it had seventy-four Conference organizations, two thousand auxiliaries, and more than 55,000 adult and juvenile members throughout the Methodist Episcopal Church.[130]

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[126] Letter of Mrs. R. S. Rust to the Northwestern Christian Advocate, October 4, 1893.
[127] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1900, p. 795.
[128] Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1882, p. 29. (Hereafter cited as Report of the W. H. M. S.)

The aims of the Woman's Home Missionary Society, as stated in the various annual reports, reveal similar aims to those of the Freedmen's Aid Society, except that the former Society worked exclusively among the Negro women. The Society had for its object the provision of training among Negro girls in the arts of home-making, and in some cases elementary education. The leaders of the movement were of the opinion that as slavery had destroyed the home life of the Freedmen, some agency must necessarily establish a true conception of the Christian home among the race. One of the chief aims of the Society was that of establishing industrial homes on the campuses of the schools conducted by the Freedmen's Aid Society, as a means for the training of girls in the domestic employments, supplementary to the educational facilities offered by the various schools. An arrangement was made with the Freedmen's Aid Society, whereby the Woman's Home Missionary Society was given permission to lease a site for industrial homes on the property of the Negro schools.[131] As the Southern states had taken over the provision of elementary education for Negroes by the time of the organization of the Woman's Home Missionary Society, the greater part of its resources went to the establishment of industrial homes for Negro girls. These homes contributed much to the preparation of home-makers for the race, and may be considered as one of the great agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church in its efforts toward the "elevation" of the Southern Negro. Beginning the establishment of industrial homes for girls in 1883, the Society had the following homes at the close of the century.

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[129] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1884, pp. 43, 661.
[130] Report of the W. H. M. S., 1889-90, p. 53.
[131] Hartzell to Mrs. R. S. Rust, April 29, 1889. Hartzell Papers.

Thayer Home, Atlanta, Georgia. Opened 1883. Allied to Clark University.
Matthew Simpson Home, Orangeburg, S. C. Opened 1883. Allied to Claflin University.
Elizabeth Rust Home, Holly Springs, Miss. Opened 1884. Allied to Rust University.
Adeline Smith Home, Little Rock, Ark. Opened 1884. Allied to Philander Smith College.
Kent Home, Greensboro, N. C. Opened 1886. Allied to Bennett College.
Peck Home, New Orleans, La. Opened 1889. Allied to New Orleans University.
King Home, Marshall, Texas. Opened 1890. Allied to Wiley University.
New Jersey Home, Morristown, Tenn. Opened 1892. Allied to Morristown Normal College.[132]

Owing to the decrease in contributions from organized philanthropic agencies in the North for industrial training, the Methodists by 1900, had consolidated their program of vocational education at four institutions, namely, Claflin and Clark Universities, Central Tennessee College, and Gilbert Academy. Other schools of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society offered courses in vocational training, but on a much smaller scale than at the mentioned institutions.[133]

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[132] Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1900, p.797. (The work of the Woman's Home Missionary Society was not limited to the Negroes of the South. It established similar homes among members of all races in the United States, especially among the foreign populations.)

The philosophy of industrial education for the Negroes of the South as conceived by the leaders of the Methodist schools, is well stated in the report of the Society to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 1900. Among other reasons for industrial programs in the schools, the Society asserted:

> 'My hand,' said Napoleon, 'is immediately connected with my head.' It is connected with every man's living, and belongs with all his powers. Industrial training must begin and end with the hand. The greatest demand of all the schools continues to be enlarged facilities for manual training. As there is only about one fifteenth of the population engaged in all the professions and the public service, and one half in agriculture and pastoral pursuits, the great majority of the students must be taught and skilled to work with their hands. The schools, therefore, encourage many students to 'work their way through college.' In some of the schools most of the work about the buildings is done by the students. The buildings themselves in many notable instances have been erected by the students, and even finished by them. The schools for cooking and sewing and house-keeping graduate the girls who have had no homes, or, at best, very poor ones, to be housekeepers, with quite as good, and often with better, equipment than many girls who have been reared in homes of luxury. They are taught to work and find pleasure in it.[134]

In 1899-1900, the male students in manual training and trade schools among the colored people numbered six hundred and seventy-seven, and were distributed as follows: Shoe-making, 2; wagon-making,

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133 The Christian Educator (December-January, 1900-01), pp. 7-11.
134 Journal of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1900, p. 757

5; cabinet-making, 6; baking, 17; tinning, 7; painting, 22; agriculture, 35; iron-working, 40; blacksmithing, 55; masonry, 66; laundry, 72; machine shop, 110; printing, 112; carpentry, 128. The women students in the schools of domestic economy numbered 1,755, and were distributed as follows: Millinery, 23; dress-making, 263; cooking, 298; house-keeping, 326; sewing, 845.[135]

After the beginning of the Twentieth Century, there began a decline in the industrial education in the schools of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society. The leaders of the educational program of the Church began to feel that such a program was too expensive to be included with other college work. Moreover, such work among the Negroes was being developed on a large scale at other schools, such as Hampton, Tuskegee, and the rising land-grant colleges. Mass production and the development of automatic machinery made it increasingly difficult for Negroes to find employment in the industrial professions. Another cause may have been the development of a psychology which denied the disciplinary values of manual training, which theory the early Methodist educators believed. Whatever the cause, the colleges and institutions of the Methodist Episcopal Church now place little emphasis upon industrial training but confine their efforts to the liberal arts and teacher training curricula.

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[135] Report of the _F. A. S. E. S._, 1900, pp. 11-12.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we may summarize the main results of this study:

(1) From the very beginning of the Methodist movement in America, its leaders manifested an interest in the welfare of the Negro race. John Wesley, as a missionary to Georgia in the early 1700's, made specific attempts to provide for the salvation of the colored people in that colony. Negroes were members of the first Methodist societies in America, and in many churches they were given all the rights and privileges of other members. Early Methodist leaders, such as Asbury, Coke, Strawbridge, and Garretson, made it a custom to preach to the blacks whenever opportunity afforded. Moreover, the first General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church made provisions in the Disciplines for the development of spiritual life among the Negro race.

The earliest attempts to educate the Negro were motivated by the belief among the Methodist clergymen that education was necessary for his salvation. A knowledge of the Bible, and the ability to read it, was a necessary condition of salvation, and therefore attempts were made by the Methodists to provide elementary instruction to the Negro race. The most important efforts of the Methodists to educate and elevate the Negro in this country prior to 1866 were made in the South, beginning in the 1820's and lasting until after the close of the Civil War. Dr. William Capers, the "apostle to the slaves," led the Southern movement to evangelize the Negroes, and under his leadership Methodist missionaries taught great numbers to read the Bible. This instruction was cut short by the slave insurrections in the 1830's, and from that time to the close of the war, all religious instruction was without letters, or oral.

The interest of the Methodists in the welfare of the American Negro caused the separation of the Church in 1844. Pointing to the fact that the Conference which organized the Methodist Episcopal Church in America in 1784 took steps to extirpate the whole system of slavery, the Methodists in the North continued agitation toward that course until their efforts caused a breach between the two sections of the Church. The Methodists in the South ceased to look upon slavery as a moral evil, and were content to make the conditions of slavery as humane as possible. With the division of Methodism, both groups, North and South, continued in their efforts toward the elevation of the Negro race; the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, laboring among the Negroes through the medium of the plantation mission, and the Methodist Episcopal Church taking steps which led to the establishment of Wilberforce University, in 1856; the first institution for the higher education of Negroes in America. The period from 1844 to 1861 was marked by bitterness and ill-feeling between the two Churches, and the events during this time prepared

Methodists, both North and South, for the civil and political struggle in the 1860's.

(2) The Plan of Separation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, adopted by the General Conference of 1844, and later rejected by the Northern Annual Conferences, set up a line between the Northern and Southern Churches, across which neither had any rights or claims. The plan did provide, nevertheless, for the Methodist societies along this line to adhere by majority vote, to either Church. Both Churches accused the other of breaking the faith of the agreement of 1844 and organizing churches across the border. This action, especially on the part of the Methodists of the North, led to further recrimination and hostility between the two bodies. These attempts to "invade" the territory of the other Church were halted by the Civil War, but events after 1863 led to what the Southern Methodists considered to be a real "invasion" of their territory by the Methodist Episcopal Church. The progress of the Federal forces paved the way for the occupation and possession of church edifices which the United States Supreme Court declared to belong to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, although the Methodist Episcopal Church held, in theory at least, that it had never forfeited the title to these edifices. In securing a military order from Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, the Methodist Episcopal Church was able to occupy many of the houses of worship belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in territory held by Federal arms, which were not occupied by a loyal

minister appointed by a bishop loyal to the Federal Government. The Methodist Episcopal Church also received the full support of the Federal Government in the execution of this order, until President Lincoln was forced by public opinion to modify Secretary Stanton's order. The General Conference of the Northern Church sanctioned and authorized the occupation of the Southern states in 1864, giving the bishops power to organize annual conferences in the occupied territory when practicable. This occupation of the South was carried out by the Northern bishops, annual conferences being organized in practically every Southern state by 1876. Although some of the conferences had white members, the chief constituency of the Northern Church was composed of the Negroes of the South, among whom the Methodist Episcopal Church labored effectively in the following years. This action of the Northern Church was deeply resented by the Southern Methodists, who looked upon the organization of the Northern Methodist Church in somewhat the same light as the political reorganization of the Southern state governments by the Northern "carpetbaggers." For fifteen years following the Civil War, the periodicals of both the Northern and Southern Churches were filled with editorials and articles dealing with the Northern Methodist entry of Southern territory and the reconstruction of the Southern Methodist Church. Many in the North expected the Southern Methodist Church to fall with the Southern Confederacy, but immediately after the war, Southern Methodists reorganized their Church with effective results. After several unsuccessful attempts, the two Churches established fraternal relations in 1876, after which a great deal of the opposition to the Northern Methodist Church in the South ceased. Relations between the two Churches after the Civil War were strained because of the political activities of some Northern Methodist preachers in the reconstruction state governments.

An attempt to justify the "invasion" of the Northern Church into Southern territory is difficult. It was undoubtedly a continuation of the bitter spirit of the Civil War, and was strikingly similar to the spirit of political reconstructionists in what has been called "the tragic era" and the "age of hate." Although this phase of Methodist history is astonishing in many of its aspects, much good came to the Southern Negroes through the agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Northern Methodists were the champions of Negro rights in the South. While Southern Churches were poverty-stricken immediately following the war, and for some years afterward, the Northern Churches poured their wealth into building Negro churches, parsonages, and schools. Moreover, the Negroes reaped the benefits of the counsel and aid of Northern churchmen. During the period when the Southern Churches could hardly keep their own organizations alive, the Northern organizations attended to the religious welfare of the Negro. On the other hand, the Negro was deprived of the guidance of Southerners, who knew him and his needs in such a way as never conceived by the people of the North.

(3) The chief contribution of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Southern Negroes was its educational program which began during the Civil War and has continued to the present time. The Methodist efforts to educate the Negro in the South had its first expression in the undenominational Freedmen's Aid Commissions during the war. After this benevolent work took denominational form, the Methodists were the last of the religious agencies to withdraw its support from the Commissions. Following the example of others, the Methodist Episcopal Church organized the Freedmen's Aid Society. The history of the education of the Negroes in the South by the Methodist Episcopal Church is, in actuality, the history of this benevolent agency. Going into the South at a time when the Negroes had no public school system, the Freedmen's Aid Society instructed its teachers to establish schools in co-operation with the Northern Methodist missionaries then laboring to establish the Church. In many instances, the teacher supported by the Freedmen's Aid Society was the missionary, and as a consequence the church edifice served as a church and school at the same time. The missionary and teacher co-operated in the establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South, making it difficult to separate the mission of either. At times the purposes of the teacher and missionary are so inextricably bound together that it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other. Furthermore, the Northern Methodists went into the South to convert the Negroes to Christianity as well as to educate

them. The teachers sent into the South were Christian teachers, believing in the benefits of Christian education. They sought to "educate the heart as well as the head."

A great many of the Methodist teachers met with persecution and social ostracism in the South, but they persevered in their task. While vast numbers of the teachers sent into the South by the Freedmen's organizations eventually despaired of their duty, on the whole the religious teachers stuck to their posts in spite of persecution, yellow fever, and discouraging conditions. In time those who persecuted these idealists eventually considered them as some of the most valued citizens of the South. The Southern Methodist churchmen, who at the close of the war were in favor of the education of the Negro but who were turned from it by the political activities of the Northern carpetbagger, began to make some contribution to the education of the Negro after 1880 in establishing a few Negro institutions, but their efforts can not be compared to those of their brethren from the North.

(4) The Northern Methodists aided in establishing the common school system in the South, especially among the Negro race. While the Freedmen's Bureau and the reconstruction governments made some contribution to the organization of such school systems, the Northern Churches should have an equal share in the honor of this work. In many places the Freedmen's Bureau donated money toward the support

of Methodist schools and teachers, but after five years of such support the Freedmen's Bureau was discontinued, and the major part of the work of establishing common schools was yet to be done.

When the Methodists went into the South to educate the Negroes, one of the first decisions made was that of recognizing the necessity of training teachers and leaders among the Negro race. In order to accomplish this aim, institutions were established among the Negroes in almost every Southern state before the close of the century. Established as elementary schools at the beginning, with students who ranged in age from seven to seventy years, these schools gradually turned to secondary and collegiate instruction as rapidly as the Southern states took over the responsibility for elementary education. Thus the mission schools became elementary schools, high schools, and colleges in turn. By the end of the century the Methodist Episcopal Church had established twenty-four institutions in the Southern states for the purpose of educating the Negro, fifteen of which are now conducted for the same purpose.

(5) The Methodist Episcopal Church made a great contribution to the education of the Southern Negro in professional and vocational education. During the first year of the existence of the Negro schools in the South, the Methodist educators sent out many colored teachers to instruct their own people. They were not prepared in the best manner, to be sure, but they were able at least to teach their people to read and write. Gradually the standards were raised in the Methodist normal schools, and teachers were more adequately prepared

for their work. The teachers sent out from the Methodist institutions had at least been exposed to the principles of the Christian religion, and many of them carried to their people a spiritual message as well as ordinary instruction. For the training of Negro ministers, the Methodist Episcopal Church established a theological department in most of its schools. Toward the close of the 1880's all theological training of Negro Methodist ministers was centered at Gammon Theological Seminary at Atlanta. At the close of the century the Methodists claimed to have educated more Negro ministers than any other Church in the North or South. The educators of the Northern Methodist Church lived to see the transformation which education had effected among the colored ministers. Those who were preaching at the close of the war were largely illiterate and incapable of ministering to their people, but at the close of the century the candidates for the ministry were young men out of the colleges established by the Church. The Methodists established the first medical college for the preparation of Negro physicians, and trained many of this profession before the close of the century. Medical education was offered in two Methodist institutions, while nurse-training was a part of the curriculum in several schools. The one attempt to train Negroes for the legal profession was as a whole unsuccessful, and abandoned before 1900.

Through the assistance of Northern philanthropic agencies, the Methodist Episcopal Church made a great contribution to the industrial education of the Southern Negro. Some forms of industrial education were initiated as early as 1866, but the work was greatly emphasized from 1880 until after 1900. Many Negroes were trained in the Methodist schools to take their place in the economic life of the South and to take their place in the home life of the race.

At the close of the century the Methodist Episcopal Church had enrolled more than 125,000 Negro students in its schools, and more than 10,000 were under instruction of Methodist teachers in 1900. The number of teachers among the black people educated in all the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society equalled nearly 20,000. According to the leaders of the movement among the Negroes, the Methodist schools had educated more preachers in Protestant denominations than all the other Negro schools in the South, and the Medical schools of this Church had educated and prepared more than one-half of the physicians and pharmacists among the Negro race. The number of students equipped in the industrial schools were numbered in the thousands, and many of those in all walks of life educated in the Methodist Negro schools would testify that they owed their inspiration and success to these sacrificial teachers.

Perhaps the testimony of one of the Southern Negroes best illustrates the educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church among the members of his race. He stated: "Notwithstanding the splendid work by the State through the common school system, a work which an enlightened civilization and proved people must foster, the

Church so full of philanthropy and the Christian spirit came to our rescue by extending to us the open door through the university and the college and equipping them with suitable and attractive buildings and with men and women of the right stamp. These workers who chose to come South wrought miracles, discouraged superstition and ignorance, and set forces to work and joined hearts, thereby giving us a place in this land in spite of trying circumstances, greatly to the delight of our increasing host of friends North and South, and to the astonishment of formidable enemies.

"The Freedmen's Aid Society is the happiest expression of brotherhood which the Church has bequeathed to us and to unborn millions. Through this agency thousands have been educated and are being educated, and tens of thousands will be in the future."

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